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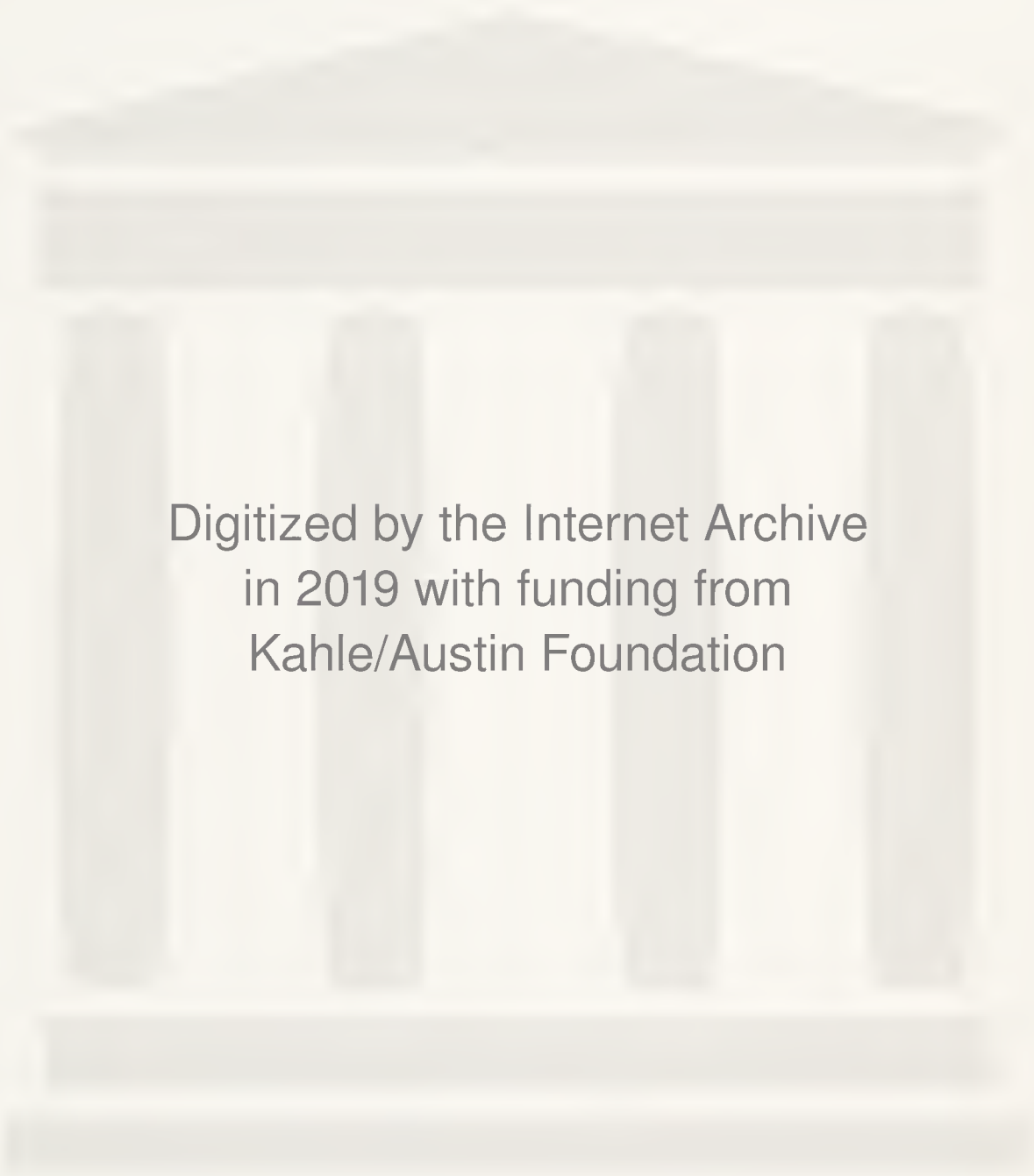
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THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
VOLUME XLIII

THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

VOLUME XLIII

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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PREFACE

ALL the items in this volume are documentary. With the exception of one private letter (**3094**) the first large section (**3088–3129**) consists of official documents edited in the main by Dr. Rea. Three of these bear particularly on the consular *fasti* (**3125, 3127–8**), several contribute to the prosopography of Roman prefects and procurators in Egypt (**3092–3, 3103, 3108–13, 3117–18**), and two groups throw light on aspects of the administration of the city of Oxyrhynchus, that is, on the gerusia (**3099–3102**) and on the tribal cycles (**3095–8**). Items **3095** and **3096** are the work of Dr. J. Lidov and Dr. Ursula Buske, *née* Schlag, respectively.

The items in the second section (**3130–50**) were studied at a seminar held in the Trinity Term of 1970 at the Istituto G. Vitelli of the University of Florence and directed by Professor M. Manfredi and Dr. Rea, who was in Florence as a British Academy–Wates Foundation Visiting Fellow. The members of the seminar, chiefly pre-*laurea* students of Professor Manfredi, each undertook one text on which they commented during the sessions and of which they then produced an edition in Italian. Dr. G. Bastianini, at that time one of the pre-*laurea* students, undertook two extra texts originally assigned to others but for various reasons not finished. Dr. Rea finished two more himself and turned the Italian editions into English. A few changes were necessary, chiefly to take account of later discoveries and to make the editions conform more closely to the practice of the Oxyrhynchus series, but the bulk of the work should be credited to the individual editors whose initials are given in the Table of Papyri against the items for which they are responsible, and whose names are listed in the key on pp. x–xi.

Dr. Rea compiled the index. He wishes to acknowledge his debt to the other General Editors and to Dr. Coles, and to thank the University Press, Oxford both for its expert technical work and for the help and good advice given by its readers.

P. J. PARSONS
J. R. REA
E. G. TURNER
General Editors of the Graeco-Roman Memoirs

June 1974

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NB = Nadia Bartoli
GB = Guido Bastianini
LB = Luciana Brachi
EC = Eugenia Citernesi
MD = Maura Duregon
AF = Amalia Fera

GM = Gabriella Messeri
FM = Francesco Michelazzo
SM = Stefania Monti
AM = Alessandro Moscadi
MN = Don Mario Naldini
GP = Giuseppina Pandolfo
RP = Rosario Pintaudi
PP = Paola Pruneti
JRR = J. R. Rea
MR = Maura Rolih
SR = Silvana Romualdi
RS = Rossana Stefanelli

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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The method of publication follows that adopted in Part XLII. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of lost letters are printed slightly below the line. The texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus*, where also faults of orthography, etc., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets ⟨ ⟩ a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets ⟦ ⟧ a deletion, the signs ˋ ´ an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. Lastly, heavy Arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: an Introduction* (1968). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

NOTE ON INVENTORY NUMBERS

The inventory numbers in general follow a set pattern, of the form 20 3B.37/D (3)a. Here '20' is the number of the present cardboard box; '3B' refers to Grenfell and Hunt's third campaign at Oxyrhynchus; '37' is the series number given inside that year to the metal packing box; 'D' indicates a layer of papyri inside that box. A few inventory numbers have the form A. B.32/A(6); these refer to a separate series of boxes.

NOTE ON THE TERMS 'RECTO' AND 'VERSO', 'FRONT' AND 'BACK' AND THE USE OF ARROWS (→, ↓)

The terms 'recto' and 'verso' are strictly applicable to papyrus only in those cases (which are in a minority) where a recognizable part of a roll is preserved. If there is doubt whether a roll can be recognized, the terms used here are 'front' and 'back', in conjunction with arrows placed beside the first line of the text to indicate the direction of the fibres in relation to the writing. A horizontal arrow (→) means that the fibres run in the same direction as the lines of writing; a vertical arrow (↓) means that the fibres run at right angles to the lines of writing.

To avoid confusion it must be stressed that an arrow of this sort refers always to the relationship of the writing to the surface on which it stands, that is, the vertical arrow is not used simply to indicate the back of papyrus which has on the front a text running parallel with the fibres. It means that the writing of the text on the side in question runs at right angles to the fibres. The addresses of letters and other endorsements are often written parallel with the fibres on the back, while the main text is written parallel with the fibres on the front. It will be readily understood that because of the method of manufacture of papyrus sheets this means that the endorsement runs at right angles to the text on the front. However, since an arrow refers only to a single surface, such an endorsement will be preceded by the note 'Back →'.

These signs can be applied to codices, since in them the writing is normally only horizontal across the page. The arrow in horizontal position → will therefore indicate a page of a codex in which the fibres run in the same direction as the writing, horizontally; an arrow in a vertical position will mean that the writing, if horizontal, crosses the fibres, which are by inference vertical. It is necessary to set this point out explicitly since the basis of use of the signs → ↓ is not that laid down in P. Antinoopolis III p. xii; and a theoretical defect of the new basis is that it cannot be used to describe a page of a codex which bears no writing.

When the terms 'recto' and 'verso' are applied to parchment codices, it is proposed to retain the time-honoured meanings 'recto' = a right-hand page, 'verso' = a left-hand page.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO PAPYRI PUBLISHED BY THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY

I **52** 20. For [προσφ(ωνοῦμεν) ὡ]ς πρόκ(ειται). *Με*[restore ὑπατείας τῆ]ς προκ(ειμένης). *Με*[σορή (day). See **3125** 2 n.
67 (= M*Chr.* 56 = Jur. Pap. 87) 13. For '*Οξ(υρύγχων*) read '*Οξ(υρυγχιτῶν*); *ZPE* 12 (1973) 289 n. 38.
68 (= M*Chr.* 228 = Jur. Pap. 47) 1. For [ἀ]πὸ τ[ῆς '*O*]ξ[υ]ρύγχ[ων πόλεως read]...[ἀπ' '*O*]ξ[υ]ρύγχ[ων πόλεως?; *ZPE* 12 (1973) 281 n. 17.
71 23. For ιθ (ἔτους) καὶ ιη (ἔτους), [*Φ*]αμενὼθ δ read ιθ ιη ια (ἔτους), Φαμενὼθ δ. See *CÉ* 46 (1971) 174.
133 3. For '*Οξυρυγχ(ιτῶν*) read '*Οξυρύγχ(ων*); *ZPE* 12 (1973) 291 n. 50.
140 3. For '*Οξυρυγχ(ιτῶν*) read '*Οξυρύγχ(ων*); *ZPE* 12 (1973) 291 n. 50.

II **351** (description). Text and plate in *BASP* 8 (1971) 51–4.

III **473** (= W*Chr.* 33) 2. The document is too early to have had the title λαμπροτάτης; *ZPE* 12 (1973) 289 n. 40.
501 4. For '*Οξυρύγχ(ων*) read '*Οξυρυγχ(ιτῶν*); *ZPE* 12 (1973) 280 n. 15.
507 5. For '*Οξυ*[*ρύγχων* read '*Οξυ*[*ρυγχιτῶν*; *ZPE* 12 (1973) 280 n. 15.
516 3. For '*Οξυ(ρύγχων*) read '*Οξυ(ρυγχιτῶν*); *ZPE* 12 (1973) 280 n. 15.
623 (description). Text and plate in *Stud. Pap.* 12 (1973) 83–4. Pl. opp. p. 84.
624 (description). Text in *Stud. Pap.* 12 (1973) 85–6.
625 (description). Text and plate in *Stud. Pap.* 12 (1973) 87–8. Pl. opp. p. 85.
626 (description). Text and plate in *Stud. Pap.* 12 (1973) 88–9. Pl. opp. p. 85. A revised text in *ZPE* 14 (1974) 18.
627 (description). Text and plate in *Stud. Pap.* 12 (1973) 86–7. Pl. opp. p. 84.

IV **670**. Assigned to a Homeric Hymn to Dionysus; *ZPE* 12 (1973) 212–15.

VI **888** 9, 11. For '*Οξυρύγ*[*χων* and ['*Οξυρύγχ(ων*) read '*Οξυρυγ*[*χιτῶν* and ['*Οξυρυγχ(ιτῶν*); *ZPE* 12 (1973) 287.
899 3. For ἀπὸ τῆς '*Οξυρυγχειτῶν*] πόλεως restore either ἀπ' '*Οξυρύγχων*] πόλεως or (municipal office) plus τῆς '*Οξυρυγχιτῶν*] πόλεως; *ZPE* 12 (1973) 280 n. 15.

VII **1032** 51. For αἰτιᾶς read αἰτιᾷ. See XLI **2954** 29–30 n.
1056 4. For δ(ιὰ) '*Ιερονίκ(ου*) read δ' ἰνδικ(τίωνος). (J. R. Rea.)

VIII **1110** 11. For '*Οξυρύ*[*γχων* read '*Οξυρυ*[*γχιτῶν*; *ZPE* 12 (1973) 280 n. 15.
1113 ii 1–2. For '*O*[*ξυρύ*]*χχ(ων*) read '*O*[*ξυρυ*]*χχ(ιτῶν*); *ZPE* 12 (1973) 280 n. 15. Cf. *BL* i 332.
1146 20. For προθικαρίῳ (= προθηκαρίῳ? GH) read προθμαρίῳ = πορθμαρίῳ, 'ferryman'; see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* ii 895 n. 21, 910.

IX **1197** 17–19. Read [παρέ]σχον δ' ἐμαυ/τοῦ ἐγ[γυη]τ[ῆ][ν], etc. Cf. e.g. **3097** 22–3, **3098** 21–2. (J. R. Rea.)
1199 1–2. Restore τῆς λαμ]π[ρᾶς] κ[αὶ λα[μ-]²/προτάτης; *ZPE* 12 (1973) 287.
1202 6. For [κυρί]ων restore [θε]ῶν; XLIII p. 13 n. 1.

X **1242** 26. ἀπαντᾷ: used to mean 'entreat', by analogy with ἀντιάζω and ἀντιάω. In 34–5 emend ἀπηντήσατο to ἀντησπάσατο; *ZPE* 7 (1971) 164.
1253 3. ἐν '*Οξυρυγ*]*χιτῶν πόλει*. Add at least the article τῇ; *ZPE* 12 (1973) 288 n. 37.
1284 13. For '*Οξ(υρυγχιτῶν*) read '*Οξ(υρύγχων*); *ZPE* 12 (1973) 280 n. 15.

XII **1418** 1. The document is too early to have had the title λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης; *ZPE* 12 (1973) 289 n. 40.
1470 10. Restore ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὀξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλ(εως); *ZPE* 12 (1973) 288 n. 37.
1562 3. Restore Πλ[ουτίωνος]; *ZPE* 8 (1971) 278–81, esp. 280.
1572 1. For δεσπ(ότῃ?) read δεκ(απρώτῳ); *ZPE* 8 (1971) 278–81.

XIV **1692** 2. For Ὀξυρύγχ(ων) read Ὀξυρυγχ(ιτῶν); *ZPE* 12 (1973) 280 n. 15.
1697 2. For βουλευτὴς Ὀξυρυνχιτῶν πόλεως read β. τῆς Ὀ. π. A photograph shows that τῆς is present in both copies and that the haplography was editorial; cf. *ZPE* 12 (1973) 281 n. 17.

XVI **1873** 4. For σοφιβωλον read αφιβωλον = ἀ⟨μ⟩φίβολον; see Mayser[1], i 190 and n. 2 (Πά⟨μ⟩φιλος), cf. Mayser–Schmoll, i 165. Delete σοφιβόλος from LSJ. (J. R. Rea.)
1887 1. For Ὀξυρυγχ(ιτῶν) read Ὀξυρύγχ(ων); *ZPE* 12 (1973) 291 n. 50.
1891 1. For Ὀξυρυγχ(ιτῶν) read Ὀξυρύγχ(ων); ibid.
1900 2. For Ὀξυ[ρ(υγχιτῶν) read Ὀξυ[ρ(ύγχων); ibid.
1959 2. For Ὀξυρυγχ(ιτῶν πόλεως) read Ὀξυρύγχ(ων); ibid.
1962 2. For Ὀξυρυγχ(ιτῶν) read Ὀξυρύγχ(ων); ibid.
1975 2. For Ὀξυρ[υγ]χ(ιτῶν) read Ὀξυρ[ύγ]χ(ων); ibid.
1980 4. For Ὀξ(υρυγχιτῶν) read Ὀξ(υρύγχων); ibid.
1986 (description). Text and plate in *ZPE* 11 (1973) 214–16 and Pl. VII.
1995 2. For Ὀξυρυγχ(ιτῶν) read Ὀξυρύγχ(ων); *ZPE* 12 (1973) 291 n. 50.

XVII **2104** 19. For ἀνελήμφθη ὑπὸ Ἀννειᾶν[οῦ read ἀνελήμφθη ὑπομνήμα[ει cf. **3106** 10 n., cf. **3108** introd.
21. For Μεσορὴ η read Μεσορὴ ιη¯, see ibid.
2122 11. For ἀγρ[ο]φύλ(ακες) read perhaps ἀρχ[ι]φύλ(ακες); *BASP* 8 (1971) 17.

XVIII **2182** 13. For ἀπηγτηκέναι read ἀπηρτικέναι. In the translation for 'that they have been required to convey' read 'that they have finished transporting'. Delete note.
30. For ἀποστεῖλαι read ἀποστείλῃς; delete note.
44. For Τοκαπεενω( ) read Τόκα, Πεενώ (or possibly Πεεν(ν)ώ; πεεν$^{\omega}$ pap.); cf. XLI **2997** 5–6.
46. For Φώβ(θεως) read Ψώβ(θεως).
50. For Κάφεως read Ὤφεως.
52. For Cενοπ(ώθεως) read Cενέ(πτα).
56. For Ψέμμεω(c) read Ψώβθεω(c).
57. For [c]με read probably [c]γε. The trace after the gap is of an upright quite consistent with *nu*. This is the total implied by the main text (20–2), i.e. 411 minus 156 equals 255. The calculated total of the entries here is 247, which cannot be the figure actually written. Probably the scribe has omitted a whole entry in error, but copied out the total correctly. (P. J. Parsons and J. R. Rea.)
2186 2. For Ὀξ(υρυγχιτῶν) read Ὀξ(υρύγχων); *ZPE* 12 (1973) 280 n. 15.
2187 14. Supply (ἔτους) κ καὶ (ἔτους) ιβ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ] Μαξιμιανοῦ κτλ.; *CÉ* 46 (1971) 178 n. 1.
2190 58. After κόϊκα add πάντα. (W. E. H. Cockle; P. J. Parsons.)
2204 3. For Ὀξυρ[ύγχ]ων read Ὀξυρ[υγχιτ]ῶν; *ZPE* 12 (1973) 290 n. 44.

XXII **2332.** Notes on the readings in *ZPE* 13 (1974) 313–17.
2347 1. For [τῆς λαμπροτάτης Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεω]c restore [τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεω]c; *ZPE* 12 (1973) 287.
2350 2–3. For ἐξ]ηγητῇ Ὀξ[υ]ρύ[γχων πό]λεως read ἐξηγ]ητῇ (or κοσμ]ητῇ or βουλε]υτῇ) τῆ[c] Ὀξυρυ[γ]χ[ιτῶν πό]λεως; *ZPE* 12 (1973) 281 n. 16.

XXIV **2407.** Various notes in *Archiv* 21 (1971) 83–5.
2411. Various notes in *Archiv* 21 (1971) 85–9.

XXVII 2476. On the games at Panopolis see *CÉ* 46 (1971) 136–41; *RÉG* 2 (1889) 164–8. On Perseus and Chemmis, see *JHS* 89 (1969) 79–86.

XXX 2509 20. Emend π]οccὶ κόνιε χέοντι .[to π]οccὶ κόνι⟨ν⟩ ἔχεον τι .[? See *ZPE* 9 (1972) 225–6.
2526 fr. 3 (p. 79) 9. Restore ὃc προφαν]εὶc before ὀνίνη[cιν, ἐcίνα]το δ' εὖτε λάθηιcι? See *ZPE* 9 (1972) 226.

XXXI 2561 7. For [καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανεcτάτ]ωϱ Ϙαιcάρωϱ restore [τῶν Cεβαcτῶν καὶ τ]ῶϱ Ϙαιcάρωϱ; *ZPE* 8 (1971) 281–2.

XXXII 2619 fr. 18. To be combined with XXXVII 2803 fr. 11; *ZPE* 7 (1971) 262–6.

XXXIV 2713 10 ff. See the remarks of I. Biezunska-Malowist on slaves in joint ownership in *Aegyptus* 48 (1968) 127–8.
2719 introd. Correct P. Meyer 30. 56 to P. Meyer 20. 56 and add to the parallels SB VI 9126. 1 and perhaps BGU IV 1064 (with *BL* i 93), reading cημα̣[cί]α̣ or cημα̣[c]' for cημε̣[ῖο]ϱ.
2728 8. For ἀποταγῇ μέροc read ἀποταγὴ μέροc? See *Acme* 23 (1970) 67–70.
9. With cιγὴ γὰρ παρὰ φιλοcόφο[ιc] ἀπόκριcιc cf. Plut. *Mor.* iii (*de vit. pud.*) 532 F, "τὴν γὰρ cιωπήν", ὁ μὲν Εὐριπίδηc φηcί, "τοῖc coφοῖc ἀπόκριcιν" εἶναι = Eur. fr. N² 977 ἡ γὰρ cιωπὴ τοῖc coφοῖcιν ἀπόκριcιc = Men. *Monost.* 307 Jäkel. (J. R. Rea.)

XXXVI 2754. Various notes in *BASP* 9 (1972) 29–31.
2756. A note in *BASP* 9 (1972) 31.
2759. A note in *BASP* 9 (1972) 32.
2765. Convert date to 20 December, A.D. 303 (not 19 December, A.D. 304); *CÉ* 46 (1971) 177 n. 1.
2766 14. For 'Οξ(υρυγχειτῶν) read perhaps 'Οξ(υρύγχων); *ZPE* 12 (1973) 289 n. 39.
15. Delete '⟨ιθ⟩ (ἔτουc)'; *CÉ* 46 (1971) 173 n. 1, 177.
12, 17. For γ(ίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) read (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι); *ZPE* 7 (1971) 187.
14. For ἀπὸ ἀμ(φόδου) Ψέωc read ἀπὸ ἀμίψεωc (= ἀμείψεωc); *ZPE* 7 (1971) 187.
2767 20. For ἀν[αδρ]ο̣μῆc restore ἀν[οικοδ]ο̣μῆc; see XLI 2969 16–17 n., 2993 3.
31–2. Restore perhaps ἀπὸ οἰκ(οπέδων) 'Ω[ριγέ-]³²/[ν]ουc; see XLI 2969 23 n., 2993 14.
2774 12. For ὑπ̣ερθέ[cε]ω[c] {εωc} Φαῶ̣[φ]ι τριακάδι τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ read ὑπ̣ερθέ[cε]ω[c] ἕωc Φαῶ̣[φ]ι τριακάδοc τ̣ο̣ῦ̣. In the translation (p. 68), for 'on the 30th Phaophi' read 'on or before the 30th Phaophi'. (J. C. Shelton.)
2785 2. Expand πρεcβ( ) to πρεcβ(ύτεροι) instead of πρεcβ(ύτερε) and alter the translation to 'Rejoice in the Lord, beloved father Sotas; we, the priests of Heracleopolis, give you many greetings.' Delete, as a consequence, the first paragraph of the introduction; Dr. Kurt Treu, in *Zetesis* (Festschr. E. De Strijcker), 634–5. Dr. Treu's article also analyses all the Christian letters of this type.

XXXVII 2803 fr. 11. To be combined with XXXII 2619 fr. 18; *ZPE* 7 (1971) 262–6.

XXXVIII 2843. Two notes in *ZPE* 11 (1973) 143–6.
2853 3. For διώρυγοc (*Χιλιαρουρῶν*) read perhaps δ. (*Χιλιαρούρων*). Dr. J. C. Shelton suggests that the canal in question is named after holders of 1,000 aruras, *χιλιάρουροι*, not a village called *Χιλιάρουραι*. Likewise in the case of the well known *Ἰβιὼν Εἰκοcιπενταρούρων* the village takes its name from an ibis sanctuary belonging to holders of 25 aruras.

XXXIX 2891 6–8. Restore τ[ὴν]⁷/ δὲ πρεcβυτέραν ὡc [νέ-]⁸/αν φαό[χρ]ωn εἶναι?; *ZPE* 13 (1974) 281–2.

XL 2906 i. Cf. P. Strasb. 536, as restored in *ZPE* 14 (1974) 300.

XLI Plate V. The number of the lower text should be corrected from 2984 to 2987. Alter pp. xii and xiii accordingly.

P. Hibeh I 6. 24–5. A note in *ZPE* 8 (1971) 239–42.

P. Tebt. I 93. 1. After κδ́ add γ́; *ZPE* 13 (1974) 276.
141. 1–8 (description). Text and plate in *CÉ* 46 (1971) 116–17.
172. 5–8. Revised text in *CÉ* 45 (1970) 153–4.
II 431 (description). Text and plate in *Californian Studies in Classical Antiquity* 4 (1971) 199–201 and Pl. I.
432 (description). Text and plate in *Californian Studies in Classical Antiquity* 4 (1971) 201–2 and Pl. II.
442 (description). Text in *ZPE* 7 (1971) 173–5.
447 (description). Text in *ZPE* 9 (1927) 87–90 and Pl. Ia.
522 (description). Text and plate in *CÉ* 46 (1971) 120–8.
537 (description). Text and plate in *ZPE* 9 (1972) 85–7 and Pl. IIa.
602 (description). Text in *ZPE* 7 (1971) 178–80.
603 (description). Text in *ZPE* 7 (1971) 180–3.
604 (description). Text in *ZPE* 7 (1971) 175–8.
639 (description). Text in *BASP* 9 (1972) 13–15.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN PERIOD

3088. Letter of a Prefect, etc.

28 4B.60/F(4)a 10·5×9 cm. 21 March A.D. 128?

In the better-preserved of these two letters Flavius Titianus, prefect of Egypt, gives his consent to a plan to carry out work on the baths at Oxyrhynchus using funds already collected by the municipality and other contributions the nature of which is obscured by the damage to the papyrus. The letter is addressed simply 'to the city of the Oxyrhynchites' and ὑμᾶc in 9 therefore represents, presumably, 'you, the Oxyrhynchites'. Not much is known about the nome capitals as legal entities, see P. Jouguet, *La Vie municipale*, 278–82, but it is particularly clear from this letter that at this date Oxyrhynchus did have a corporate legal personality that was recognized by the prefect, cf. R. Taubenschlag, *Law*², 60–1. In the third century the administration of public works of this kind would have been under the control of the town council, see A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils*, 87–90. How it would have been managed before the introduction of the councils is by no means clear, see Jouguet, op. cit., 309–14.

The letter of Titianus is described as a copy (7). The preceding letter ends with a warning that some offence will not go unpunished. Of the numerous possibilities a likely one might be that it is the letter of a subordinate official, who enclosed a copy of the prefect's letter to lend authority to his own pronouncements. On this, the simplest, hypothesis, the date of the first letter would be the date of the complete document. Other possibilities are not excluded. If the whole document was a collection of precedents, to take one example, the first date clause provides us with a *terminus post quem* only.

The address on the back shows that the complete document was sent to, or just possibly from, some person or persons (ὑμᾶc, 4) in the Heracleopolite nome. A possible explanation of this might be that the work required the use of stone from the quarries at Hibeh, see P. Hibeh I 17 and II 217. The dossier, on this hypothesis, would have been sent to the authorities of the Heracleopolite nome to elicit their co-operation and this papyrus would be a copy filed in Oxyrhynchus.

. . . . .

→ .[
μετ̣.[.....]....[..]....[.....
ἔργον, γε̣[ιν]ωσκέ̣τω ὅτι οὐκ ἔσται
ἀζήμιος. ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὔχομαι.
(ἔτους) $\overline{\iota\beta}$ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ
Ἁδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, Φαμενὼθ $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$.

ἀντίγρ(αφον). Φλάυιος Τιτιανὸς Ὀξυρυγχ̣ειτῶν
τῇ πόλει χαίρειν.
ἀποδέχομαι ὑμᾶς τὴν πατρίδ̣α
κοσμεῖν προῃρημένο̣υ̣ς̣ κ̣αὶ ἐ̣π̣ι̣τ̣ρ̣[έ]π̣ω̣
κατασκευάζειν τὸ βαλανεῖο̣ν ἔ̣κ̣ τε
τῶν ἤδη σ̣υ̣νειλεγμένων χρη-
μάτων, ὥ̣ς̣ φατε, καὶ ἐξ ὧ̣ν̣ ἄν ...
ἐπιδῷ τω...[.].[.]...ε̣κ̣.[...]...ο̣
τιμουμε[.... ἐρρῶ]ς̣θαι ὑμᾶ̣ς̣ [εὔχομα]ι̣.
(ἔτους) $\overline{\iota\beta}$ Αὐτοκρά[τορος Καίσαρο]ς̣ Τρ̣α̣ι̣α̣ν̣[οῦ
Ἁδριανοῦ [Σεβαστοῦ, ...] $\overline{\kappa\eta}$.

Back →] (vac.) (m. 2) Ἡρακλεοπολ( )

5 L$\overline{\iota\beta}$ 7 αντιγρς 16 L$\overline{\iota\beta}$ 18 ηρακλεοπ$\overset{\lambda}{\text{ο}}$

'. . . work, let him realize that he will not escape punishment. I pray for your health. Year 12 of Imperator Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, Phamenoth 25.'

'Copy. Flavius Titianus to the city of the Oxyrhynchites, greetings. I congratulate you on your design to beautify your city and I permit you to equip the bath from the funds already collected, as you assert, and from those which may be contributed by . . . . I pray for your health. Year 12 of Imperator Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, (month) 28.'

Back. (2nd hand) '. . . Heracleopol(is)' or '-(ite).'

6 Phamenoth 25 = 21 March A.D. 128. This may be the actual date of the whole document, if it consisted simply of this covering letter together with the appended copy of the prefect's letter, see introd.

9 *ἀποδέχομαι*. For the translation see L. Robert, *Hellenica* i 44, where the inscription under discussion also has the combination *ἀποδέχομαι . . . καὶ ἐπιτρέπω*. I owe this reference to Mr. Parsons.

It is not clear from the text whether the prefect's consent was a necessary condition of the work, but it seems more likely than not, cf. VIII **1104** 8 seqq., P. Amh. II 64. Ulpian's remarks on the duty of a proconsul in regard to municipal public works emphasize that they should be done 'prout vires eius rei publicae permittunt' (*Dig.* 1. 16. 7. 1). Or it may be that the prefect's consent took the place of the emperor's, see *Dig.* 50. 10. 3. 1, 'Publico vero sumptu opus novum sine principis auctoritate fieri non licere constitutionibus declaratur.' But this may not count as a 'new work', see 11 n.

11 *κατασκευάζειν* could mean either 'furnish', 'equip', or 'build' (LSJ s.v. 2 and 3). If the bath is the one in the Thermae variously called *Τραιαναί* (VI **896** 7, P. Giss. 50), *Ἁδριαναί* (I **54**, VI **896**),

Ἀντωνινιαναί (P. Giss. 50), the first is indicated, since they drew their earliest title from Trajan. Hadrian's name may have been attached to them on this occasion or later during his visit to Egypt. But the speculation is very tenuous because the mention, from the reign of Antoninus, of *μείζονες θερμαί* (III 473 5) may mean that there were two sets of Thermae at Oxyrhynchus.

13–15 Just possibly it could be *ἐγχώ* at the end of 13; for the participation of provincial governors see R. MacMullen, 'Roman Imperial Building in the Provinces', *HSCP* 64 (1959) 210, 225 n. 24. If so, print *ἐπιδῶ* instead of *ἐπιδῷ* in 14, but *τις* will suit the very scanty traces equally well and it seems more likely that the gist is—'and from contributions that may be made in the future by any person who is anxious to gain a reputation for generosity'. At the end of 14 *λο* or *το* seems a possible reading, though the traces are too scanty to confirm *φιλο/τιμουμε[ν-*.

17 On the simplest hypothesis this would be an earlier date than the one in 6, see 6 n. and introd. The space certainly seems too short to restore the month-name as Phamenoth.

3089. Report of Village Elders

33 4B.82/C(1)a 25×21 cm. A.D. 146

In essence this is a report to a strategus from elders acting in place of a village scribe (1–7; 38–9), but the bulk of it is taken up by the citation of other documents that gave rise to the report. The case as we have it began with a petition to the procurator P. Aelius Eclectus (19–37) laying information that a certain Valerius Niger owed money to the Roman government on account of leases of usiac property that he and his dead brother had undertaken on mutual security. The procurator wrote to the strategus asking him to exact whatever was owed and this letter is also quoted in full (8–18). Evidently the strategus gave instructions to the village authorities to report, but these are not repeated.

The body of the report was very short (38–9) and the damage to the ends of lines in the second column makes its purport uncertain. Probably it simply confirmed the existence of one of the leases in question. The same loss to the right makes it hard to say why the original petitioner was interested. He asks for justice, which makes it seem likely that he was not a mere informer. Perhaps the likeliest possibility is that he too was a creditor of Niger and hoped to recover the debt if Niger's property was sold up to repay the treasury.

The back was used subsequently for a day-by-day account and some similar jottings appear upside-down in the lower margin and in other vacant spaces on the front.

i

→ (m. 2) *δισσόν* (m. 1?) *ος*

Θέω]νι στρ(ατηγῷ) Ἀρσινοΐτου Θεμίστου καὶ Πολ(έμωνος) μερίδων
παρὰ] Σωτηρίχου τοῦ Νείλου καὶ Διδύμου τοῦ Ἐνατί-
ωνος τ]ῶν β̄ καὶ τῶν λοι(πῶν) πρεσβυτ(έρων) διεξαγόντων καὶ
5 *τὰ κατὰ] τὴν κωμογραμματείαν κώμης Διονυς(ιάδος).*
πρὸς] ἐπιστολὴν γρ(αφεῖσαν) ὑπὸ Ἐγλέκτου ἐπιτρό(που) τοῦ

κυρίου Κα]ίσαρος, ἧς ἐστιν ἀντίγρ(αφον) (vac.)
Ἔγλεκτο]ς Θέωνι στρ(ατηγῷ) Ἀρσι(νοΐτου) Θεμίστου καὶ Πολ(έμωνος)
μερίδων χαίρειν.
τ̣ο̣ῦ δοθέντος μοι βιβλιδίου παρὰ Αὐνήους Πετε-
ύριος τὸ ἴσον σημιωσάμενος ἔπεμψά σοι. φησὶ δὲ
Οὐαλέριον Νίγερα μισθωτὴν γεγο(νέναι) οὐσιακῶν κτημά-
των σὺν Πετρωνίῳ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ, τελευτήσαν-
τος δὲ τοῦ Πετρωνίου ὀφείλειν εἰσοδιάσαι τὸν
Νίγε̣ρα τῷ κυριακῷ λόγωι τὰ ὀφειλό(μενα) ἀπό τε τῆς μισθ(ώσεως)
καὶ ἀπὸ ἑτερ( ) ⟨μισθ( )⟩ ὑποδοχ( ) ἰχθύας. φρόντισον οὖν εἴ τι καλῇ πίστ(ει)
[ὀ]φείλεται τῷ κυριακῷ λόγῳ πρᾶξαι̣. ἐρρῶσθ(αι) εὔχο(μαι).
(ἔτους) [θ] Ἀντωνείνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου, Ἀδριανοῦ Λ.
Π[ου]πλίῳ Αἰλίῳ Ἐγλέκτῳ ἐπιτρό(πῳ) τοῦ κυρίου Κα[ί]σαρος
παρὰ Αὐνήους τοῦ Πετεύρεως ἀπὸ κώμης Διονυς(ιάδος) τῆς Θεμίστ(ου)
μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσι(νοΐτου). Οὐαλέριος Νίγερ μισθωτὴς γενό(μενος) σὺν
τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἑαυτοῦ Πετρωνίῳ ἐξ ἀλληλ(εγγύης) οὐσιακῶν κτημάτ(ων)
ἐν τῷ Ἀρσι(νοΐτῃ) νομῷ, τελευτήσαντος τοῦ Πετρωνίου,
ἐνωφείλησεν ὁ Νίγερ ἱκανὰ κεφάλ(αια) ἀκολούθ(ως) τῇ ἀλληλ(εγγύῃ)

ii

λθ

καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑτερ( ) μισθ( ) ὑποδοχι( ) ἰχθύας [
ἐξ ὑπο(μνηματισμῶν) Αἰλίου Νεμεσιανοῦ στρ(ατηγοῦ) Θεμίστ[ου
δηλούμενον ὑποδόχιον ἐν Διονυς(ιάδι) εἶναι .[
ὅσα ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ὁπότε περιῆν μισθ̣[
ἐνοφειλ( ) συχνὰ ἀργυρίδια ὧν δηχαρι̣.[
Θεμίστου καὶ Πολέμωνος μερίδων [..]...[
περὶ κώμην Φιλωτερίδ(α) απαντῶ̣.[
ἐκπρᾶξαι αὐτὸν ἅπαντα τὰ ὀφειλό(μενα) .[
ρηθῆναι καὶ δηλῶσαί σοι περὶ .[.]...[
μηθὲν τῷ κυριακῷ λόγῳ διαπεσε̣[ῖ]ν̣ [
σου τοῦ κυρίου ἐκδικίας χάριν ..[
εργετημένος. διευτύχει. [
προσφωνοῦμεν εἶναι τὴν μ̣[ίσθωσιν?
τοῦ κυρίου Καίσαρος. (vac.)[

(vac.)

(ἔτους) θ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τ̣ί̣[του Αἰλίου Ἁδριανοῦ Ἀντωνίνου
Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς, Φα....[
(m. 3?) Σωτήριχος καὶ Δίδυμος καὶ οἱ .[

2 στρϛ, πο^{λ} 4 λοι^{ʾ}, πρεσβυ^{τ} 5 διονυσ̄ 6 γρϛ, επιτρο^{ʾ} 7 αντιγρϛ 8 στρϛ, αρσ^{ε}, πο^{λ} 11 l. σημειωσάμενος 12 γεγο̄ 15 οφειλο̄, μισ^{θ} 16 ετερϛ, υποδο^{χ}, πισ^{τ} 17 ερρωσ^{θ} ευχο^{-} 18 L 19 επιτρο^{ʾ} 20 διονυσ̄, θεμισ^{τ} 21 αρσ^{ε}, γενο̄ 22 αλλη^{λ}, κτημα^{τ} 23 αρσ^{ε} 24 κεφα^{λ}, ακολου^{θ}, αλλη^{λ} 26 ετερϛ μισ^{θ} υποδοχι^{ο} 27 υπο̄, στρϛ 28 διονυσ̄ 30 ενοφει^{λ} 32 φιλωτερι^{δ} 33 οφειλο̄ 40 L

(2nd hand) 'Duplicate. (1st hand?) 76.'

'To Theon, strategus of the Arsinoite nome, departments of Themistes and Polemon, from Soterichus, son of Neilus, and Didymus, son of Enation, both of them elders and the rest of the elders who are also conducting the affairs of the village scribe of the village of Dionysias. In response to a letter written by Eclectus, procurator of the lord Caesar, of which a copy is as follows:

'(Aelius?) Eclectus to Theon, strategus of the Arsinoite nome, departments of Themistes and Polemon, greeting. I have sealed and sent to you the duplicate of a petition sent to me by Aunes, son of Peteyris. He says that Valerius Niger became a lessee of usiac properties with his brother Petronius, and that since Petronius has died Niger is obliged to pay to the imperial account what is owed as a result of the lease and from another lease of fishing rights in a stew pond. Take care, then, to exact payment of anything owed in good faith to the imperial account. I pray for your health. Year 9 of Antoninus Caesar, the lord, Hadrianus 30.'

'To Publius Aelius Eclectus, procurator of the lord Caesar, from Aunes, son of Peteyris, from the village of Dionysias, of the department of Themistes of the Arsinoite nome. Valerius Niger became lessee of usiac property in the Arsinoite nome on terms of mutual guarantee with his brother Petronius, and when Petronius died Niger became liable to repay several sums of money in accordance with the mutual guarantee and in respect of another lease of fishing rights in a stew pond .... From the records of Aelius Nemesianus, strategus of the departments of Themistes [and Polemon] ... specified stew pond in Dionysias to be ... all that his father when he was alive ... owe(s?) considerable sums of money ... of the departments of Themistes and Polemon ... near the village of Philoteris, all (?) ... (to) exact from him all that is owed ... and report to you about ... (so that) no loss may fall upon the imperial account ... justice (from?) you, my lord, ... thank ... (so that I may) receive benefit. Farewell.

—we report that the lease is ... (of) the lord Caesar. Year 9 of Imperator Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius, Phamenoth(?) (day).'

(3rd hand?) 'Soterichus and Didymus and the (rest? submitted this report?).'

1 δισσόν. Cf. P. Wisc. I 34 and 35.

ος. This figure (76) and the one in the corresponding place at the head of ii, λθ = 39, are puzzling. Just possibly they are column numbers of the rolls from which the cited documents were extracted. The writings are not obviously different from each other or from the body of the text.

2 Θέω]ν̣ι; cf. 8. See most lately G. Bastianini, *Gli strateghi dell'Arsinoites* (Pap. Brux. 11), 52. The discovery of this document suggests that P. Wisc. I 18, 31, 36, and 37, like most of the rest in the Wisconsin volume, come from Oxyrhynchus. It may be that Theon was an Oxyrhynchite who brought home some of the papers he collected during his tour of office in another nome, cf. *JEA* 40 (1954) 102–6.

3 Ἐνατί[ωνος. Cf. P. Col. II 4 xvi 16, 19.

6 Ἐγλέκτου. Cf. P. Oxf. 3, P. Wisc. I 34 and 35. The office held by Eclectus is not specified, but his concern with usiac property supports the view that he was *procurator usiacus* (P. Wisc. 34. 2 n.). Some doubt is raised by P. Wisc. 35. 19 seq., where he is called τοῦ κρατίστου ἐπιστρατήγου in a place where the duplicate has τοῦ κρατίσ[του / ἐπ]ι̣τρόπου (P. Wisc. 34. 15 seq.). It would be chronologically possible for Eclectus to be placed in the list of the epistrategi of the Heptanomia between Julius Petronianus and Minicius Corellianus, though the latter was in office sometime during 9 Pius, the year

of this papyrus.[1] Perhaps the strongest argument for rejecting ἐπιστρατήγου as a slip arises from the parallelism between P. Wisc. 31 and 34 (= 35). In the first Epithymetes, a subordinate of Irenaeus, *proc. Caes.*, orders an aegialophylax to provide the customary irrigation for an usiac property. The order is transmitted by the strategus because a direct order had had no effect. In the second Aelius Heracleitus, a subordinate of Eclectus, *proc. Caes.*, orders the same aegialophylax to provide the same service for a similar, if not the same, property. The only essential difference lies in the dates: the relevant section of P. Wisc. 31 is from A.D. 147, see *ZPE* 1 (1967) 157, P. Wisc. 34 is from A.D. 144. Irenaeus seems therefore to have been a successor of Eclectus and cannot have been epistrategus because he was in office in 12 Pius (P. Meyer 3), while M. Herennius Philotas was epistrategus in the 11th and 14th years of Pius (BGU I 195, SB V 7558, P. Iand. VII 140). Since there is no example of iteration of these equestrian posts (O. Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamte*[2], 447), Philotas must have been in office also in the intervening years.

There is also the possibility that Eclectus was head of the *idios logos*, cf. P. Oxf. 3. 11–12 n., P. R. Swarney, *Idios Logos*, 127, 128, 130, H.-G. Pflaum, *Les Carrières* iii 1085. The lists of the last two authors omit Irenaeus, who is tentatively included by G. Plaumann, *Der Idioslogos*, 69. I would agree unreservedly with Sijpesteijn's view that Eclectus and Irenaeus held the same post (P. Wisc. I 34. 2 n.). It is less certain that their title was *procurator usiacus*, but to me also that seems the most likely hypothesis.

We know that at least one *procurator usiacus* was a freedman, namely Felix *Aug(ustorum duorum) libertus procurator usiacus*, known from *CIL* iii 53, which belongs at the earliest under Marcus and Verus. P. Aelius Eclectus looks very like the name of a freedman of Hadrian. Irenaeus too could well be a freedman's *cognomen*, cf. the *dispensator* of that name in *CIL* ii 1085 = *ILS* 1406, who is described as *Aug(usti) n(ostri) v(erna)*. The certain heads of the *idios logos* of this period have names which look convincingly equestrian, e.g. Statilius Maximus, Claudius Julianus, Ti. Claudius Justus, L. Crepereius Paulus, see Swarney's list, pp. 127–8.

If these men were freedmen, an awkward question arises concerning their title of κράτιστος ἐπίτροπος = *egregius procurator*, see e.g. P. Wisc. I 34. 15–16, P. Oxf. 3. 11 (both Eclectus), P. Wisc. I 31. 4 (Irenaeus). *Egregius* was an equestrian title. The question is whether we should suppose that these freedmen had been promoted to equestrian rank, as was possible in rare cases, see P. R. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, 282–4, or that the title was incorrectly used in Egypt, as λαμπρότατος = *clarissimus* was used loosely of prefects of Egypt, cf. A. Stein, *Die Präfekten*, 178.

The identification of Eclectus with one of the murderers of Commodus is implausible (P. Wisc. I, p. 127). Fifty years and more elapsed between the date of P. Oxf. 3 (A.D. 142) and the death of Commodus. On this hypothesis his age could not be estimated at less than 70 in A.D. 193. Commodus' *cubicularius*, appointed in A.D. 182, gained influence by his interest in the gladiators and fought with Commodus in mock single combats. He married his fellow-conspirator Marcia, Commodus' mistress, after the emperor's death. He was the only man to resist the murderers of Pertinax and even wounded some of them before he was killed at that emperor's side.

The later Eclectus was a freedman of L. Verus. Our man's full name, with the *praenomen* added by this papyrus (19), is P. Aelius Eclectus, a combination which suggests rather that he owed his citizenship to Hadrian, cf. *PIR*[2] i, p. 28.

[On Eclectus see now also G. Parássoglou in *ZPE* 11 (1973) 23, where it is suggested that his name should be restored in BGU III 891. 15. The reference to P. Mich. XI 616 should be to 617. 13, where the κράτιστος ἐπίτροπος may, in view of the date, be Eclectus.]

8 Possibly the line also contained *Αἴλιος* set out into the left margin, but it is unlikely that the *praenomen* too could be fitted in.

16 For the insertion of μισθ( ) cf. 26. Probably we should expand ἑτέρ(ας) μισθ(ώσεως) ὑποδοχ(ίου), but there may have been more than one lease or more than one stew pond.

[1] The dates given in M. Vandoni, *Epistrategi*, 25, (144–6 d.C.), are misleading. All the references are either to the 9th year = A.D. 145/6 (P. Gen. 31. 6, SB V 7605. 1) or to the 10th year = A.D. 146/7 (VI 899 30). In the fragmentary P. Fouad 31 we find in line 7 a reference to the 7th year of Antoninus = A.D. 143/4, in line 8 the words μετὰ τ[ρ]ιετίαν, and in line 9 ἐκυρώθη ὑπὸ Κορελλιανοῦ. The straightforward interpretation of this is that something happened in the 7th year which was confirmed by Corellianus in the 9th or 10th year. Certainly we are not entitled to assume from this text any date earlier than the 9th year, which began on 29 August A.D. 145.

18 *Ἀδριανοῦ λ* = 26 December A.D. 145.

22 *ἐξ ἀλληλ(εγγύης)*. See R. Taubenschlag, *Law*², 303 seqq. It looks as if here the stricter view is being taken—that each debtor can be held responsible for the whole debt and not only for a proportion of it.

24 *ὁ Νίγερ*. These words are superfluous to the grammar of the sentence. It seems that after the long interval between subject and verb a restatement of the subject was felt to be necessary.

27 *Αἰλίου Νεμεσιανοῦ*. Apparently this is the strategus of A.D. 138/9, whose *cognomen* in all the other documents is written *Νουμισιανός* (G. Bastianini, *Gli strateghi dell'Arsinoites* (Pap. Brux. 11), 50–1). This incidentally lends support to the editor's note on P. Mich. VIII 468. 6, where it is suggested that the person called *Numesianum* at that place is the same as the *Νεμες/ιανός* of the companion Greek letter 479. 17–18.

30 *ωνδηχαρι̣.[*. The traces of the last letter are minimal. *ὧν δὴ χάριν* or *ὧν δ' ἣ χάρις* (cf. IV **705** 63) are obvious possibilities, but comparison with 26 suggests also *Χαρίς[ιος* followed by e.g. *γενόμενος στρατηγὸς*] [31] *Θεμίστου κτλ*. However, Charisius is known only as the strategus of Polemon's department (G. Bastianini, *Gli strateghi dell'Arsinoites* (Pap. Brux. 11), 27). The first man specifically called strategus of both these departments is Aelius Numisianus (A.D. 138). Charisius was apparently in office in the period A.D. 119–25, a date which might suit the activity of Niger's father, but there are too many uncertainties for any helpful conclusions to be drawn.

32 *Φιλωτερίδ(α)*. In Themistes' department.

33 *ἐκπρᾶξαι*. The sense of this whole sentence was something like: (I request you to instruct the strategus) to exact from him all that is owed (and to have something else done) and to report to you about (the case? so that) no loss shall fall upon the imperial account (so that receiving) justice from you, my lord, (I may acknowledge) my gratitude to you, (so that I may be the recipient of your) beneficence.

41 *Φα....[*. The remains perhaps suit *Φαμεν̣ώ̣[θ* better than *Φαρμοῦθι*. *Φαῶφι* is excluded.

42 Supply *λ̣[οιποὶ ἐπιδεδώκαμεν vel sim.*

3090. Report of Liturgists

19 2B.79/J(1)a 15 × 18 cm. February/March A.D. 216

The liturgists were appointed to convey calves to Alexandria for the visit of Caracalla. In answer to an official inquiry they explain how, when the animals under their charge fell sick in the Heracleopolite nome, they themselves were released to return to Oxyrhynchus along with the magistrate placed over them until the animals should recover. As evidence of this they refer to a document called a *συστατικόν*, cf. **XXXI 2601** 11–12 n., presumably delegating responsibility for the sick animals, which the other magistrates accompanying the convoy gave to their magistrate and which failed to reach the proper quarter.

The numerous abbreviations and the very rapid hand probably indicate that this is a draft, though there are no cancellations or insertions. It is written on the back of a fragment of official correspondence of which only the ends of about fifteen lines survive.

↓ ....].[.]...[.].[
...ρου Ἀνδρονείκ(ου) μοσχ( ) ἐνεχτῶ(τος). ἐπιζητοῦντί σοι
ἐκ βιβλ(ιδίων) ἐπιδοθ(έντων) σοι ὑπὸ Αὐρηλ(ίου) Διογ(ένους) ἀπ[ὸ]
κε(κοσμητευκότων) τῆς Ὀξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλ(εως)
δι(ὰ) Μ(άρκου) Αὐρηλ(ίου) Κλ(αυδίου) Πετρωνιανοῦ κατὰ ποίαν πρόφασιν
ἐνθάδε ἀπεμείναμεν αἱρεθέντες ἅμα ἄλλοις
ἐπὶ καταγωγῆς μόσχων κομιζομ(ένων) εἰς τὴν λαμ(προτάτην) Ἀλεξ(άνδρειαν)
πρὸς τὴν εὐκταιοτάτην ἀννῶναν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν
Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σευήρου Ἀντωνίνου
Εὐτυχοῦς Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ προσφωνοῦμεν ὀμνύοντ(ες)
τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος Σευήρου Ἀντωνίνου
τύχην ἀποδεδημηκέναι ἡμᾶς ὁμοῦ τοῖς κ⟨οιν⟩ωνοῖς
ὑ]πὸ τοὺς ἐφεστῶτας ἄρχοντας μέχρι τοῦ Ἡρακλεο(πολίτου),
ἐκεῖ δὲ δέκα μόσχων δι' ἀσθέν[ι]αν μὴ δυνα-
μένων ἕπεσθαι καταλελεῖφθαι ἡμᾶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν
ἵνα ἐπανέλθωμεν εἰς τὸν οἰκεῖον νομὸν ἔ̣στ' ἂν
τ̣ραφέντα καὶ ἐπιμελ(είας) τυχόντα τὰ ζῷ̣α ἀναλάβῃ
ἅ̣μα τῷ προτεταγμένῳ ἄρχοντι ἀκολούθως ᾧ̣ πε-
π̣οίηνται συστατικῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ συναιρεθ(έντες) αὐτῷ
ἄ]ρχοντ(ες) ὅπερ ἀπέταξεν ὧν ἐπέδωκέν σοι βιβλ(ιδίων).
(ἔτους)] κδ" Φαμ(ενὼθ).

2 ανδρονει^{κ} μοσ^{χ} ενεχτ^{ω} 3 βιβ^{λ} επιδο^{θ}, αυρ^{ηλ} διο^{γ}, κ^{ε}, $\overline{οξ}$ π^{ο} 4 δι? μ αυρ^{ηλ} κλ′
6 κομιζο^{μ}, λαμζ αλεξ 9 ομνυον^{τ} 12 ηρακλεο^{ν} 16 επιμ^{λε} 18 συναιρε^{θ} 19 α]ρχον^{τ},
βιβ^{λ} 20 φ^{μ}α

'(To . . . from . . . and) . . ., son of Andronicus, transporters of calves of the present year(?). Since you inquire, by reason of a report submitted to you by Aurelius Diogenes, ex-cosmetes of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, through the agency of Marcus Aurelius Claudius Petronianus, under what pretext we remained here after being appointed along with others to transport calves being delivered to the most glorious city of Alexandria for the most desirable *annona* of our lord Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Felix Pius Augustus, we report, swearing by the *genius* of our lord Imperator Severus Antoninus, that we travelled from home along with our partners under the command of the magistrates set over us as far as the Heracleopolite nome, and that there, since ten calves were unable to follow because of sickness, we were left behind by them that we might return to our native nome until the beasts should recover after being treated and receiving care, together with the aforementioned magistrate in accordance with the letter of authority which the magistrates appointed with him made for him and which he omitted from the report he submitted to you. 24th year, Phamenoth.'

1 The traces are extremely scanty. They could be said to suit *Αὐρ*]*η*[*λ*]*ίῳ* [*Ἀ*]*ν*[*ουβίωνι στρ*( ) *Ὀξ*( ), but if more than two persons submitted the report this was probably not the first line anyway.

2 ...*ρου*. Perhaps *Διο*]$^{?}$*σκόρου*.

μοcˣ. Perhaps μοcχ(οκαταγωγέων), cf. λινοκαταγωγεύc **3111** 3, and perhaps [χοιρο]καταγωγεύc BGU I 92. 28 (Wilcken in W. *Chrest.* 427).

ἐνεcτῶ(τοc). The reading is doubtful because for this sense one would expect τοῦ ἐνεcτῶτοc κδ ἔτουc, but the undotted letters are certain and the first letter is almost certainly an epsilon. Mr. Parsons suggests μοcχ(οτρόφου) ἐν Cεντώ, which could be right.

3 Αὐρηλ(ίου) Διογ(ένουc) ἀπ[ὸ] κε(κοcμητευκότων). This man is presumably to be identified with 'the aforementioned magistrate' in charge of this group of liturgists in 17; βιβλίδια, mentioned here and in 19, should presumably therefore be translated 'report' rather than 'petition', see *WB* s.v. βιβλίδιον (2).

4 δι(ά). The traces are much too damaged to be read with certainty, but this seems a likely explanation of the presence of the second name.

6 Perhaps the calves are simply for meat, but Herodian speaks of Caracalla's excessive sacrifices: iv 8. 7 δύο γὰρ ταῦτα ὑπερβαλλόντωc προcεποιεῖτο, τήν τε τοῦ θεοῦ θρηcκείαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἥρωοc μνήμην. ἑκατόμβαc τε οὖν κελεύει παρακευαcθῆναι ἐναγιcμούc τε παντοδαπούc. 9 ... πολλὰc ἑκατόμβαc κατέθυcε. Compare the animals collected for Diocletian's visit to Upper Egypt χωρούντων εἰc τὰc γινομένας θυcίαc, P. Beatty Panop. 1. 383, with the editor's note.

7 εὐκταιοτάτην. This word is to be read in P. Got. 3. 8, published as εὐκλειcτάτην (l. εὐκλεεcτάτην) ἐπιδημίαν (see Plate I).

11 ὁμοῦ τοῖc κ⟨οιν⟩ωνοῖc. The correction is guaranteed by the same expression in P. Wisc. I 3. 3. There are no references to this sense—'together with'—in *WB*, and in LSJ s.v. ὁμοῦ (3) the only prose reference is to Herod. ii 101. It certainly occurs in late prose, e.g. Polybius v 48. 9, 94. 8, vii 2. 9, viii 20. 6, xiv 7. 9, xv 14. 2, etc., Arrian, *Anab.* i 8. 3 etc.

14 ἔπεcθαι is written large over something shorter, perhaps a failed attempt to write the same word, ε̣π̣α̣ι̣?

ὑπ' αὐτῶν. This is ambiguously drafted, but refers to κοινωνοί or ἄρχοντεc or both together.

19 ἀπέταξεν. The implication is not clear. Perhaps most probably it means 'left out', 'forgot to include', but it may be more positive than that, 'abstracted', 'detached', and impute negligence or misconduct to the magistrate. Or, as the Press reader suggested to me, the choice of a neutral word may have been deliberate.

20 κδ″ Φαμ(ενώθ) = February/March A.D. 216. This date is of no use for establishing the length of Caracalla's stay in Egypt. Investigations into irregularities of this sort would have gone on even after his return to Syria. All we know is that Caracalla was back in Antioch by 27 May A.D. 216 (Dmeir inscription, *Syria* 23 (1942–3) 173–200 = *SEG* xviii 759).

3091. Undertaking on Oath

19 2B.83/E(b) 7 × 12 cm. A.D. 216/17?

This liturgist undertakes to convey to Alexandria barley destined for the troops of Caracalla in Syria. We may compare W. *Chrest.* 245 of A.D. 216/17, where a camel is requisitioned εἰc τὰc ἐν Cυρίᾳ κυριακὰc ὑπηρεcίαc τῶν γενναιοτάτων cτρατευμάτων τοῦ κυρίου κτλ.

The date has been damaged and mostly lost but Caracalla's army was in Syria from about May A.D. 215, when he reached Antioch, see *CAH* xii 49, and this document must be dated—because of the oath formula—before the news of his death, which took place on 8 April A.D. 217, reached Oxyrhynchus, see **3092** 5 n. The traces in the last line suggest κε, i.e. A.D. 216/17.

On the back are scattered traces of ink. Some are certainly offsets from the front, which show that the document was rolled up from right to left. Those that are not recognizable seem also to be accidental.

→ Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀνουβίωνι στρ(ατηγῷ) Ὀξυρυγχ(ίτου)
Αὐρήλιος Μοῦσις χρη(ματίζων) μητ(ρὸς) Ἡρᾶ-
τος γ[ε]ουχῶν ἐν κώμῃ Σιναρύ.
εἰσδοθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν τόπων
5 κ[ω]μογραμματέως εἰς τὸ κατε-
νέγκαι κριθὴν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδριαν̣
πεμπομένην εἰς Συρίαν ἱερῷ
στρατεύματι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν
Αὐτοκράτορος Σ[ε]ουήρου
10 Ἀντωνί⟨ν⟩ου Εὐτυχοῦς̣ Εὐσεβοῦς
Σεβαστοῦ, ὀμνύω τὴν τοῦ
κυρίου ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος
Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου
Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
15 τύχην εὐθέως ἀντιλήμ-
ψεσται τῆς ἐνχιρισθίσης
χρίας ἢ ἔνοχος εἴην τῷ
ὅρκῳ. παρέσχον δὲ ἐ-
μαυτοῦ ἐνγυητὴν Μάρκον
20 Αὐ[ρήλιον] Ϛ̣ερῆνον χρη(ματίζοντα) μητ(ρὸς)
Τ̣.[.....] γεουχοῦντα ἐν
τῇ [αὐτῇ Σιν]αρὺ [π]αρόντα
κ̣α̣[ὶ εὐδοκοῦν]τ̣α̣. [(ἔτους)] κ̣ε̣
. . . . .

1 στρϛ οξυρυγχ.' 2 χρηϛ μητ 15–16 l. ἀντιλήμψεσθαι 16 l. ἐγχειρισθείσης 20 χρηϛ μητ

'To Aurelius Anubion, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, Aurelius Mousis, officially known by the name of his mother Heras, landowner in the village of Sinary. Having been nominated by the village scribe of the district to carry down to Alexandria barley on its way to Syria for the imperial army of our lord Imperator Severus Antoninus Felix Pius Augustus, I swear by the *genius* of our lord Imperator Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Caesar, the lord, immediately to undertake the service entrusted (to me) or may I be liable to the penalties of the oath. I provided as my guarantor Aurelius Serenus, officially known by the name of his mother T..., landowner in the same Sinary, present and consenting. Year 25 ...'

1 On the strategus Aurelius Anubion see *CÉ* 31 (1956) 354, Pap. Lugd. Bat. XIV 26. The latest established date for him is after 28 August A.D. 216 from XII **1525**, which line 23 confirms, if rightly read, but no successor of his is known till A.D. 218.

23 At the end κ̣ε̣ seems much easier than κ̣δ̣ or κ̣χ̣. Caracalla's titles with the month and the day will have followed.

3092. Agreement to Share a Tax Concession

32 4B.2/F(4)a 14 × 28 cm. A.D. 217

Two tax-farmers agreed by this contract to share their tax concession equally with two other persons from the following year. Only the foot and the ends of twenty lines survive and the damage has deprived us of the name of the tax and possibly of the price that was paid by the newcomers. The back is blank, although there may, of course, have been an endorsement near one of the lost edges.

A new Roman official, Aurelius Terpsilaus, is mentioned. He was a *procurator usiacus* acting temporarily as dioecetes. This additional piece of evidence for the shifting of officials in A.D. 217 might be connected with a difficult transition in Egypt between the reigns of Caracalla and Macrinus, see 5 n. Terpsilaus appears for the second time in **3103** of A.D. 226. He was out of office by then, but he may have had a long term, see ibid. 5–6 n.

. . . . .

→ .....]..[...].[.....]...[...]...
.....]. [*Α*]*ὐ̣ρ̣*[*ήλιον*] *Πλούταρχον καὶ Αὐρήλιον Γα̣ι̣α̣νὸν ἀκολού-*
θως ᾧ̣ ἐπέδωκ]*αν βιβλι*[*δί*]*ῳ Αὐρηλίῳ Τερψιλάῳ ἐπιτρόπῳ οὐσιακῶ*(*ν*)
διαδεχομένῳ] *καὶ τὰ κ*[*ατ*]*ὰ τὴν διοίκη*[*σι*]*ν δι' οὗ προσέγραψαν προσλαμ-*
βάνεσθαι αὐτο]*ὺς κοινωνοὺς κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κϛ̀ β̣′* (*ἔτους*) *τῆ̣ς̣*
προκειμένης ὠ]*νῆς κα*[*ὶ ἀ*]*παιτῆσαι τὰ ὀφειλόμενα ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῆς ὠνῆς*
ἀργύρια ἐν τῇ π]*όλει καὶ ἐν τῷ νομῷ καὶ διαγράψε ἐπὶ τὴν δημοσίαν*
τράπεζαν τὸν] *ἐνιαύσιον φόρον καὶ συνκαταχωρίσαι τὰ συνήθη τῆς ὠνῆς*
μηνιαῖα καὶ] *δ̣ι̣αγράψαι τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἐπιθήκης κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἥμισυ ὡς*
πρόκειται, μ]*η̣δ̣ενὶ δὲ ἐξεῖναι παραβαίνειν τὰ προγεγραμμένα*
ἢ ὁ παραβαίνων ἀ]*π̣*[*ο*]*δώσει τῷ ἐνμένοντι ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς τετρα*{*ς̣*}-
κοσίας καὶ εἰς τὸ δημόσ]*ιον τὰς ἴσας καὶ μηδὲν ἧσσ*[*ο*]*ν* {*χωρὶς τοῦ*} *μέ-*
νειν κύρια τὰ ὡμολ]*ο̣γημένα ὡς ἐν δημοσίῳ κατακείμενα τετρασ-*
σὰ γραφέντα πρὸς τ]*ὸ̣ ἑκάτερον ἔχειν μοναχόν.* (*ἔτους*) *κε Αὐτοκράτορος*
Καίσαρος Μάρκου] *Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀντωνίνου Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου*
Βρεττανικοῦ Με]*γίστου Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ*
(month, day). (m. 2) *Τιβ*]*έριος Κλαύδιος Τρύφων καὶ Αὐρήλιος Θέων δι' ἐμοῦ*
Τιβερίου Κλα]*υδίου Τρύφωνος τέθειμε τὸ κοινὸν ὁμολόγημα*
καὶ εὐδοκῶ τοῖς] *προκειμένοις.* (m. 3) *Μάρκοι Αὐρήλιοι Πλούταρχος καὶ*
Γαιανὸς δι' ἐμοῦ] *Αὐρηλίου Πλουτάρχου εὐδοκῶ πᾶσι τοῖς προκειμένοις.*

3 *ουσιακῶ* 5 *ἥμισυ*, *ι* corr. ex *υ*, *κϛ* (β above) 6 *ὕπερ* 7 l. *διαγράψαι* 12 *ἴσας* 14 Lκε
18 l. *τέθειμαι*

'[e.g. We, Ti. Claudius Tryphon and Aurelius Theon, agree that we have taken as partners] Aurelius Plutarch and Aurelius Gaianus in conformity with the petition which they submitted to Aurelius Terpsilaus, *procurator usiacus*, [who is (was?) taking over] also the affairs of the dioecesis, in which they made an additional application to be taken as partners with a half interest from the same 26th (2nd) year in the [aforesaid?] tax concession, and to make exaction of the [moneys?] owed in respect of the same tax concession in the city and in the nome, and to pay into the state bank the annual rent, and to register jointly the customary [monthly accounts?] of the tax concession, and to pay the remainder of the down-payment (?) according to their same half interest as is aforesaid. And (we agree) that it is not to be lawful for any person to contravene the above-written terms or the person who contravenes them shall deliver to the one who abides by them 400 drachmas of silver, and none the less {apart from the fact that} the agreed terms, which are written in quadruplicate so that each party may have a single copy, shall remain valid as if deposited in a public archive. Year 25 of Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Parthicus Maximus Britannicus Maximus Germanicus Maximus Pius Augustus, [month, day]. (2nd hand) Tiberius Claudius Tryphon and Aurelius Theon, through me Tiberius Claudius Tryphon: I concluded the agreement between us and I consent to the aforesaid terms. (3rd hand) Marcus Aurelius Plutarch and Marcus Aurelius Gaianus, through me Aurelius Plutarch: I consent to all the aforesaid terms.'

1 The traces are of the feet of illegible letters. For the sort of beginning that is envisaged cf. PSI IV 306.

3 The name Terpsilaus is otherwise borne only, as far as I can discover, by two persons. The first is an Athenian mentioned in *IG* 2^2. 1794. 15 and 2097. 245. His name appears in Pape, *Gr. Eigenn.*, as *Τέρψιλλος*, from *CIG* i 194. 15, but this has been corrected in *IG* 2^2. The date of *IG* 2^2. 1794 is A.D. 180/1 (*Hesperia* 18 (1949) 19–20; table opp. p. 22), and Terpsilaus, son of Antiphon, is likely to have been young then, see ibid. p. 23, but there is no good reason to conclude that the procurator is the same man, nearly forty years later. The second person is Terpsilaus, *Aug. lib., prox(imus) a studiis* in *CIL* vi 8637 = *ILS* 1683, for whom see P. C. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, 253 (no. 10), 254. The *procurator usiacus* may well have been a freedman, see **3089** 6 n., so there is a stronger possibility of identity here, especially in view of the rarity of the name, but there can be no reliable conclusion yet. The inscription provides 'no clue as to date' (Weaver, op. cit., 254).

4 *διαδεχομένῳ*. Also possible is *διαδεξαμένῳ*, but this would make little difference to what we know of the official. He would still probably have been deputy-dioecetes sometime in A.D. 216/17.

5 *κς̀β́ (ἔτους)*. The contract was concluded in A.D. 216/17, 25 Caracalla (14), but applied from the following Egyptian year, 29 August A.D. 217 to 28 August A.D. 218, which is called in anticipation 26 Caracalla. In fact, Caracalla's reign came to an end when he was assassinated on 8 April A.D. 217. Macrinus was proclaimed emperor on 11 April, so that the year A.D. 217/18 was actually 2 Macrinus. The figure 2 has been added above 26 in an ink not perceptibly different from the first, but the *beta* is of the open-topped type, whereas the *beta*s in the body of the document are of the double-bowed type. Normally one would conclude that the contract was drawn up before the arrival of news of the new emperor's accession and the figure 2 was added after that. However, the possibility ought to be borne in mind that this addition reflects a state of doubt in the mind of the writer caused by a difficult transition in Egypt between the reigns. The indications are as follows.

We know from a fragmentary passage of Dio (78. 15. 3), which supplies no context, that Macrinus eliminated Valerius Datus, who was the prefect of Egypt at least till 16 March A.D. 217 (P. Lond., vol. III p. 30, no. 936). Dio suggests rhetorically that he and a fellow victim had done no harm to Macrinus, *τί γὰρ ἠδικήκεσαν κτλ.*, but his fault can be guessed. The Theban ostraca indicate that the change of reign was recognized there between 5 July A.D. 217 (WO II 991)[1] and 17 July (SB IV 9143), that is roughly 100 days after the *dies imperii* of Macrinus, 11 April. The usual estimate for news of an accession to reach Thebes from Rome is about 50 days. From Syria, where Caracalla and Macrinus were,

[1] Compare too the Berlin ostracon inv. 9756, probably of 2 July A.D. 217 (*JJP* 16–17 (1971) 136–7; cf. P. Alex. Giss. p. 24). Much more doubtful is O. Deissm. 79 (P. Meyer, p. 200), ostensibly dated by Caracalla on 16 October A.D. 217. Until the original, which I have failed to locate, can be consulted again, we must suspect that for *κε (ἔτους) Μάρκου Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Φαῶφι ιθ τοῦ κς (ἔτους)* we should read *κε (ἔτους) Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίνου κτλ.*

it should have arrived quicker. This suggests that Datus waited to receive news from Rome that the senate had confirmed Macrinus' titles. It is precisely the neglect of this point of protocol by Macrinus that Dio deplores in a passage following closely the one cited above. Macrinus in his first letter to the senate adopted the titles that he should have waited for it to give him (78. 16. 2; cf. F. G. B. Millar, *Cassius Dio*, 163). So very possibly it was by his orthodox delay that Datus gave offence to Macrinus.

Whatever the relevance for this document, it seems virtually certain that knowledge of the death of Caracalla was widespread in Egypt before the official change in the dating formula was made.

It would be worth knowing whether the unexpected changes among the chiefs of government departments were connected with this difficult situation. Here, at some time before 29 August A.D. 217, we find the *procurator usiacus* discharging as well as his own duties those of the dioecetes. In **3093** we find that on 24 September A.D. 217 the dioecetes was deputizing for the *iuridicus*.[1] At present, however, this is only a speculation.

6–9 The restored words προκειμένης (6), ἀργύρια (7), and μηνιαῖα (9) are stop-gaps adopted for the sake of an easy presentation. Other equally plausible words and even ideas could be thought of in each case.

9 ἐπιθήκης. Though this financial term occurs fairly often in the papyri, I can find no passage which suggests what it means here, cf. **3146** 8 n. for the usual sense of 'letter of credit'. For the purpose of the translation I have conjectured, very tentatively, that as well as rent to the government the tax-farmers had to make an additional payment as a lump sum in advance.

11 τετρα{ς}-. After α there is ink almost exactly like the ς of τετρας[14][cά, but it is presumably a mere slip of the pen.

12 καὶ μηδὲν ἧcc[ο]ν χωρὶc τοῦ κτλ. There is a conflation of the two common versions of this penalty clause. We can accept either καὶ μηδὲν ἧccον μένειν κτλ., or χωρὶc τοῦ μένειν κτλ., but not both, see A. Berger, *Strafklauseln*, 47–50, 85.

14 ἑκάτερον. Correct would be ἕκαcτον, but ἑκάτερον is part of the common form in the most usual type of agreement between two persons only.

17 Tiberius Claudius Tryphon is probably the same man who is mentioned in a will of A.D. 224, XXII **2348** 43–4.

3093. Certified Copy of a Petition?

37 4B.104/H(1)a 9×9·5; 6×14 cm. *c.* 21 September A.D. 217

This fragmentary document is chiefly of interest for the names of two Roman officials, first a new one called Heracleides, whose *nomen* is lost, but who was dioecetes and deputy *iuridicus* on 21 September A.D. 217, see 3 n., and secondly, one called Agrippa, who is likely to be the same as the Agrippa mentioned in **3094**. His *nomen* was perhaps Maenius, and he was not very long out of some uncertain office on the same date, see 11 n.

The details of the document are uncertain because of the extensive loss of text. Clearly it encloses and quotes a copy of a petition to Heracleides extracted from a batch of petitions exhibited in public. This enclosure begins in line 3 and finishes in 22. The length of it is not known exactly because the proper placing of the two fragments is

[1] On the other hand IX **1202**, a document referring to Aurelius Severus, deputy epistrategus, should probably not be assigned to A.D. 217. I suggest that line 6 should be supplemented [θε]ῶν (not [κυρί]ων) Cεουήρου καὶ μεγάλου Ἀντωνίνου, cf. P. Flor. I 56. 12 (and n.), PSI XII 1240 a 23, b 57, P. Lips. 9. 16 and P. Harris 69 i 19 (for *M*[άρκου] restore μ[εγάλου]), and that the description 'great Antoninus' was not applied to Caracalla until there was a 'little Antoninus', namely Elagabalus. If this second, tentative, suggestion is right, **1202** is not earlier than summer A.D. 218.

uncertain. If they overlap, as is not unlikely, see 11–14 n., the length is less than the apparent 21 lines; if there is a gap between them, then it is greater by an unknown amount. Line 1 appears to be a heading; lines 23–6 are still obscure, and presumably they contained the nucleus of the whole document; lines 27–8 have an oath by the *genius* of the emperor, below which is part of a blank margin of *c.* 2 cm. The back is blank.

Professor Turner points out that the document is also of palaeographical value as a dated specimen which can be compared for some of its features with undated book-hands. He writes:

'The handwriting is not a book-hand, but forms an interesting comparison with book-hands, since its cursive is slowly made, and letters are often formed independently. For its date the hand is remarkably upright. There are thickenings at the tops and feet of verticals (e.g. γ η ι κ ρ τ υ φ ψ), and occasional serifs (κ ρ τ φ ψ); the wide cross-bar of τ may also begin with a thickened dot. If these "decorations" are regarded as a legacy of Schubart's "decorated style" (*Zierstil*), the lower terminus of that style must be extended into the third century. It would also be possible to regard these phenomena as anticipations of the "Coptic" style. The similarity between this hand and a Yale Homer (Inv. 1546, *CÉ* 46 (1971) 313 seqq.) is striking. No doubt the Yale Homer should also be assigned to the third century, not the second.'

→ *c.* 25 letters Ἀλε]ξ̣ανδρίᾳ τῷ δικαιοδότῃ περὶ ἐπιδη-
μίας *c.* 21 letters] (vac.)
(ἔτους) β Αὐτοκράτορος Καί]ς̣αρος Μάρκου Ὀπελλίου Cευουήρου
Μακρίνου Εὐcεβοῦc Εὐτυχοῦc Cεβ]α̣cτοῦ, Θὼθ κ̄δ̄. ἐκ τεύχους βιβλει-
5 δίων ἐπιδοθέντων *c.* 5–10 letters Ἡρ]ακλίδῃ τῷ κρατίcτῳ διαδεχομέ-
νῳ (καὶ?) τὰ κατὰ τὴν δικαιοδοcία]ν̣ καὶ προτεθέντων ἐν τῇ Cε-
βαcτῇ ἀγορᾷ? *c.* 10–15 letters]. τὸ ὑποτεταγμένον. ἔcτι δέ.
c. 10–15 letters Ἡρακλίδῃ τῷ κρα]τίcτῳ διοικητῇ διαδεχομέ-
νῳ (καὶ?) τὰ κατὰ τὴν δικαιοδοcί]α̣ν παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Cελήνης
10 *c.* 25 letters].α[.].ωτου Ὀξυρυνχίτῃ νομῷ
c. 30 letters]..ι̣νίου Ἀγρίπ̣[πα] τοῦ γε̣-
νομένου *c.* 30 letters].α.[
. . . . .
. . . . .
c. 22 letters]ων[
c. 20 ,,] κ̣ατελθῖν [
15 *c.* 20 ,,].να μοι ψε[
c. 20 ,,]. ἀναγκα[

c. 20 letters] τ̣ὴν κάθοδ[ον? ....]ϵ.[
c. 20 ,,]..νιντ.[...]... αυτ[
c. 17 ,, μηδ]ϵμίαν ἔφοδον ἐχοντ̣[
c. 18 ,, Ἀγ]ρίππα τ̣ο̣ῦ γενομέν̣[ου
c. 20 ,,]. ὡμολόγησεν μϵ[
c. 20 ,,]ν̣η ὑπὸ σοῦ. διευτύχ̣[ει
c. 20 ,,].ϕ.. α.[..].ιωκ..[.]..[
c. 20 ,,]..οσμ[...].[.].α..[
c. 18 ,, κα]τὰ τὰ Ῥω[μαί]ων ἔθη .[
c. 20 ,,].[.].ο.. ὑ̣πὸ Μ..ν̣ί̣ο̣υ̣ [Ἀγρίππα
c. 20 ,, καὶ ὀμ]νύω τὴν [Μάρκου Ὀπϵλλίου Cϵουήρου
Μακρίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίο]υ̣ τύχην̣ [

7 *ὑποτεταγμενον*

'. . . Alexandria to the *iuridicus* about a visit . . .'

'Year 2 of Imperator Caesar Marcus Opellius Severus Macrinus Pius Felix Augustus, Thoth 24. From a file of petitions delivered to . . . Heracleides, *vir egregius*, who is taking over (also?) the affairs of the juridicate, and posted in public in the Forum Augusti (?) (I declare that I have extracted?) the document subjoined. Viz:

'To . . . Heracleides, *vir egregius*, dioecetes, who is taking over (also?) the affairs of the juridicate, from Aurelia Selene . . .'

1 *ἐπιδη²[μίας* is probable. In the papyri the word refers often, but not always, to the visit of an emperor or official. In this case it is better to connect it with a visit by the petitioner to Alexandria, cf. 11–14 n.

One possible reconstruction of the heading might be *βιβλιδίου ἐπιδοθέντος ἐν Ἀλϵ]ξανδρίᾳ τῷ δικαιοδότῃ περὶ ἐπιδη²[μίας τὸ ἀντίγραφον ὑποτέτακται.*

3 The restoration of year 2 is certain because Caracalla was still reigning on 21 September A.D. 216. By September A.D. 218 Elagabalus was on the throne. There is room for (*ἔτους*) *δευτέρου* or even *ἔτους δευτέρου* in full, but the date may easily have been indented.

5 The length of Heracleides' *nomen* is uncertain. The sure restoration of line 4 requires 27 letters, cf. P. Bureth, *Les Titulatures*, 106. In lines 6 and 9 we have 25 and 24 letters respectively, if *καί* was included in the title (cf. e.g. P. Harris 68. 2, 4), 22 and 21 if it was not. Anything of about 5–10 letters will fit here. In 8, where there is space for about 10–15 letters before *Ἡρακλίδῃ*, both *praenomen* and *nomen* were probably written.

6 *δικαιοδοσία]ν̣* is likely because of *δικαιοδότῃ* (1) and because Heracleides was dioecetes (8), who could well be deputy *iuridicus*. Compare the Julianus, dioecetes, vice-*iuridicus*, of BGU IV 1019 (with BL i p. 88. 10), XI 2012. 24, 2070. 12, 21.

In **3117** 1 n. the possibility is envisaged that the *iuridicus* and deputy-prefect Callistianus might have been in office roughly at this date, between the prefects Datus and Basilianus, rather than, as is more likely, between Basilianus and his successor Chrestus. If, after all, that were so, we might imagine that the *iuridicus* looked after the prefecture, while the dioecetes looked after the juridicate, but this is mere speculation. Compare also **3092** 4 n.

6–7 For *Cϵβαστὴ ἀγορά* as a *forum Augusti* in Alexandria compare W. *Chrest.* 60. 38, 115. 6 n., A. Calderini, *Diz. top.* i 88–9.

7 Restore a declaration that the subjoined petition has been extracted from the file, cf. XVII **2131** 2–5, BGU III 970. 3–5, but the formulas in these places are too long to fit here.

10 Perhaps there is some error here. The remains do not suit *γϵουχούσης ἐνταῦ]θα [ἐν] τ̣ῷ {του} Ὀξυρυνχίτῃ νομῷ*, nor does the space suit *ἐν]τ̣α[ῦθα] τ̣ῷ {του}* etc. Worth considering is the pattern

ἀπὸ κώμης] Τ̣α[λ]αὼ τοῦ Ὀξυρυνχίτη (l. -ου) νομω (l. -οῦ), but Ταλαώ does not suit, nor any other village name that I can discover. Also excluded is ἐξ ἀπηλιώτου.

11]..ι̣νίου Ἀγρίπ̣[πα] τοῦ γ̣ε̣-. Compare 20 Ἀγ]ρίππα τ̣ο̣ῦ γενομέν̣[ου, 26 ὑπὸ Μ̣..ν̣ίο̣υ̣ [Ἀγρίππα. Here we have certainly a Roman official called Agrippa, who is likely to be the judge mentioned also in **3094**, a letter of the same period. The remains of his *nomen* are puzzling. In 11 the undamaged letter read as ν̣ has the middle stroke almost horizontal instead of diagonal. This feature it has in common with all the *nu*s of the document, but as well the right upright begins very high, so that the first reading to spring to mind would be γι. Followed by -ιου, this looks unlikely. In 26 we may have something like ἀκολούθως τοῖς κεκελευς]μ[έ]ν̣οις ὑπὸ Μ̣α̣ι̣ν̣ί̣ο̣υ̣ [Ἀγρίππα. There the ν̣ is normal.

Among the known Agrippas is one M. Maenius Agrippa L. Tusidius Campester (*PIR*[1] ii M. 53). His career has been analysed by H.-G. Pflaum, *Les Carrières* i 292–5, no. 120. He served creditably in the army and the fleet under Hadrian and rose, probably in the reign of Antoninus Pius, to be a procurator in Britain. We know he founded a family, since in an inscription he calls himself proudly *pater senatoris*. The senator in question may be the Campester mentioned as a suffect consul in the *Fasti Ostienses*, perhaps in A.D. 161 or 162.

Here *Μαινίου* is a possible reading in both places. In 11 the remains of μ̣ are minute, but suitable to the first apex; α̣ι̣ suits very well. In 26 μ is certain, α̣ suits well, ι̣ is rather thick and blobby, but quite possible. It seems, therefore, a reasonable guess that this person might be a descendant of the known M. Maenius, perhaps a son of the senator, perhaps his younger brother, to mention only two of the possibilities.

We can only guess what post he might have held. Since the document is largely concerned with a vice-*iuridicus* and Agrippa is twice described as being out of office, the best guess is that Agrippa was the *iuridicus* who unexpectedly vacated the post which the dioecetes was called upon to fill temporarily. If not, he may have been an epistrategus or some other sort of procurator.

From **3094** we gather that he held office under the prefects Heracleitus (A.D. 215) and Datus (A.D. 216–at least 16 March A.D. 217). He was out of office by 21 September A.D. 217. We do not know whether Basilianus had taken up his post as prefect by that date, and it is not clear from **3094** whether Agrippa's term of office lasted into his prefecture.

11–14 There is a possibility that the two fragments overlap in this area. The fibre patterns suggest that the left edge of frag. 2 should stand about 1·5 cm. or 3–4 letters to the left of the corresponding edge of frag. 1. A possible pattern of restoration would be as follows:

11 (= 13) κελευσθεῖσα ἐκ τῶν γραφέντ]ων [ὑπὸ] Μ̣α̣ι̣ν̣ίου Ἀγρίπ[πα] τοῦ γε-
12 (= 14) νομένου δικαιοδότου] κατελθῖν [εἰς τὴν τῶ]ν̣ Ἀλ̣[εξανδρέων
13 (= 15) πόλιν etc.

This is tentative only. The words κατελθεῖν and κάθοδος (17?) suggest reference to a journey down the Nile from Oxyrhynchus, plausibly to Alexandria, where the petitioner may have stayed for a while (ἐπιδημίας, 1–2) and where there may have been proceedings in the presence of the *iuridicus* (ἐπί? . . . Ἀγ]ρίππα . . . ὡμολόγησεν, 20–1).

Alternatively, Mr. Parsons suggests that this petitioner, like the Hermopolite in P. Flor. I 6, had been summoned to court in Alexandria and was reluctant to obey. The Hermopolite pleaded that he had urgent official business in his own nome. Of that sort of excuse there is no trace here, but it may be that Selene was saying that an adversary's accusations were false (ψε[υδ-, 15) and that he had no valid legal right to take proceedings (μηδ]εμίαν ἔφοδον ἐχοντ̣[, 19).

22 This looks like the final formula of the enclosed petition, something like ἀξιῶ . . ., ἵν' ὦ βεβοη-θημέ]ν̣η ὑπὸ σοῦ. διευτύχ[ει.

25 κα]τὰ τὰ Ῥω[μαί]ων ἔθη .[. This formula is used to specify whether the woman is acting with or without a guardian, i.e. μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ δεδομένου (μοι?) κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθη (τοῦ δεῖνος), or χωρὶς κυρίου χρηματίζουσα τέκνων δικαίῳ κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθη, see H.-D. Schmitz, *τὸ ἔθος und verwandte Begriffe in den Papyri* (Diss. Cologne, 1970) 62–5.

27–8 It may be that the oath certifies the good faith of the copy of the document extracted from the files, cf. M. *Chrest.* 82. 1 ἀντίγραφον ὑπομνηματισμοῦ, [37] [Φῖβις] Κάστορος ἐπιδέδω[κα κα]ὶ [38] [δι]ώμοσα τὸν ὅρκον κ(ατὰ) τ(ὸν) νόμ(ον); cf. E. Seidl, *Der Eid* i 113.

The titles in the oath are not quite fixed. For the wording adopted and the variations, see Seidl, op. cit. i 15–16.

3094. Private Letter

23 3B.10/B(3)a 11 × 24·5 cm. *c.* A.D. 217–18

Unusually interesting for a private letter, this document tells in outline the story of legal proceedings which troubled three successive prefects of Egypt and involved another official of uncertain status (see 8 n.), called Agrippa.

Unfortunately the object of the litigation is specified only in a vague way as 'the interest on the grant' and the steps in the case are not perfectly clear.

The earliest stage mentioned is a petition to Heracleitus, the prefect who seems to have lost his position unexpectedly in A.D. 215, since his duties were performed temporarily by the *iuridicus*, Aurelius Antinous. This is generally and plausibly considered to have some connection with the violent events of Caracalla's stay in Alexandria. Heracleitus gave the plaintiff, a woman called Gaia, a subscription, which, if I understand her correctly, finally provided the basis of a settlement. But for some reason the case continued and Agrippa delivered an unfavourable judgement which she calls illegal. She returned to the charge with a petition to Heracleitus' successor Datus, prefect in A.D. 216, who sent her back to Agrippa. Agrippa agreed to hold a hearing. It is not clear whether this ever took place, but the case proceeded with a petition to the next prefect Julius Basilianus, in office in A.D. 217–18, to which were annexed some relevant legal pronouncements, previous documents in the case, and complaints against Agrippa and against a lawyer who had failed to represent Gaia properly. Basilianus replied by a subscription allowing her 'to exercise her rights', which she declared ambiguous. She sent him a final petition rehearsing yet again *πάντα τὰ προειρημένα* and asking him if he wanted her to make use of the subscription of Heracleitus. A last subscription apparently consented to this and since it is what she asked for, one is left with the impression that it was a solution satisfactory to her. It seems strange and ironic that all these complicated proceedings boil down to no more than could have been achieved by the original petition to Heracleitus and his answer, but this impression may be due to a faulty understanding of the damaged last section of the document, or to the bias of the writer or the conciseness of the account.

The writing runs across the fibres on the rougher side, apparently therefore the verso. The recto bears no writing except the address, written downwards across the fibres, but there is a pattern of lines whose purpose is uncertain. They may be connected with the folding and sealing of the letter.

↓ *χαῖρε*] *πολλά, Εὐτυχίδα, Σαραπᾶς καὶ*
Γαΐα] *ἀσπαζόμεθά σε καὶ τὸ προσκύ-*
νημ]*ά σου ποιοῦμεν καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ*
σου] *Ἡ*[*ρα*]*κλείδου καὶ τῶν συνβίων*
5 *ὑμῶ*]*ν καὶ τῶν τέκνων παρὰ τῷ μεγά-*

D 396 C

λῳ] Cαράπιδι. γείνωcκε ὅτι μετὰ [τ]ὴν
ἄ̣ν̣ο̣μ̣ο̣ν̣ ἀπόφαcιν ἣν προήνεγκεν
κατ̣ὰ̣ Γ̣[α]ἰ̣ας Ἀγρίππας, ἐνέτυχεν τῷ ἡ-
γεμ̣[ο̣]ν̣ε̣ύcαντι Δάτῳ ἀξιοῦcα εἰc τρο-
φὰc τὸν τόκον τῆc χάριτοc̣ αὐτῆc ἀπο-
λαβεῖν καὶ ἐκέλευcεν αὐτὴν διὰ ὑπο-
γραφῆc ἐντυχεῖν τῷ αὐτῷ Ἀγρίππα̣. ἐνέ-
τυχεν δὲ καὶ Ἀγρίππα̣ καὶ ἀνεδέξατο
τὴν διάγνωcιν. ὕcτερον δέ, τοῦ ὑπο̣-
μνήματοc προτεθέντοc καὶ τοῦ εὐτυ-
χοῦc ἡγεμόνοc Ἰουλίου Βαcιλιανοῦ εὐ-
τυχῶc ἐπιβάντοc τῇ πόλει, ἐνέτυχον
αὐτῷ διὰ βιβλιδίων προτάξαcα τὴν
ὑπὸ Ἀγρίππα μεμφθεῖcαν διάταξιν
καὶ ἄλ̣λαc καὶ ὅλο̣ν τὸ Ἡρακλείτου
βιβλίδιον καὶ τὴν ὑπογραφὴν καὶ
τὸ Ἀγρίππα ὑπόμνημα μεμ-
ψαμένη ὡc αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοὺc νόμουc
ἀποφηναμένου, μεμψαμένη δὲ
καὶ τὸν ῥήτορα ἐφ' οἷc οὐ παρέθετό
μου δικαίοιc καὶ ἀξιώcαcα ἢ τὰ προc-
φωνηθέντα μοι ἀποδοθῆναι ἢ τὰ ἐμά.
ἐ̣κέλευcέν μοι διὰ ὑπογραφῆc τὸ ὑπό-
μ̣νημ[α] παραπεμψάμενοc τοῖc νομί-
μ̣οιc `μο̣[υ]' χρή̣[c]αcθαι. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἀμφίλωξοc ἦν
ἡ̣ ὑ̣πο̣γραφὴ ἕτερον αὐτῷ ἔδωκα
πά]λ̣ιν πάντα τὰ προειρημένα ἐτα̣-
...].α καὶ ἀ̣ξ̣[ι]ώcαcα εἰ τῇ τοῦ Ἡρακλείτου
ὑπο]γρ̣α̣φῇ χ̣ρ̣ήcαcθαί με θέλει. καὶ πά-
λιν] ὑπέγραψεν c̣υ̣ντιθέμενοc αὐτῇ
κελε]υούcῃ μοι τῇ τῶν νομίμων τάξει
....]..ειν. διὸ γράφω coι ἵνα καὶ cύ μοι cυν-
....].· ἀ̣c̣π̣ά̣ζεται ὑμᾶc Cαραπάμμων. ἐρρῶc̣-
]θ̣α̣ι̣ ὑ̣μ̣ᾶ̣c̣ ε̣[ὐ]χ̣ό̣μ̣ε̣θ̣α̣.

Back ↓ (vac.)
41 π(αρὰ) Σαραπᾶ καὶ Γαΐας
(vac.)

δὸς Ἀμμωνίῳ θαλλο-
δοτοῦντι πρὸς τῷ νεῷ
τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ δώσι αὐτῷ.

(vac.)

Εὐτύχει θαλ⟨λ⟩οδοτοῦ-
τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ Σαραπείου πρὸς τῇ

ντι ὑπὸ τὸν πυλῶνα
μεγάλῃ εἰκόνι.

8 γ[α]ΐας 16 ἰουλιου 28–9 ὑπομνημ[α] 30 l. ἀμφίλοξος 41 π′, γαΐας 42 l. δώσει

'Many greetings, Eutychidas. We, Sarapas and Gaia, salute you and make your obeisance, and that of your brother, Heracleides, and of your wives and children before the great Sarapis. Learn that after the unlawful judgement that Agrippa delivered against Gaia, she applied to the then prefect, Datus, asking to receive the interest of her grant for her maintenance, and he commanded her by a subscription to apply to the same Agrippa. And she did indeed apply to Agrippa and he accepted the case. Later, after the petition had been posted in public and the auspicious prefect, Julius Basilianus, had auspiciously entered the city, I (Gaia) applied to him by petition prefixing the order criticized by Agrippa and other orders and the whole of the petition to Heraclitus and the subscription and the petition to Agrippa, complaining that he had delivered a judgement contrary to the laws, and also complaining of the advocate because of rights of mine that he failed to put forward and asking that there should be given to me either the things that were contained in the report or my own property. He commanded me by subscription when he returned the petition "to exercise my rights". Since the subscription was ambiguous I sent him another (petition) appending (?) again all the foregoing and asking him if he wanted me to make use of the subscription of Heracleitus. Once more he gave me a subscription consenting to it (i.e. Heracleitus' subscription) as ordering me to conform to (?) the circumstances of my legal rights. So I write to you that you too may . . . with me. Sarapammon greets you. We pray for your health.'

Back. 'From Sarapas and Gaia. (Give to Ammonius who distributes branches at (?) the shrine of the god and he will give (it) to him.) To Eutyches who distributes branches under the gateway of the Serapeum by the great image.'

1 *Εὐτυχίδα*. The letter is addressed to *Εὐτύχει* (43). I take this as a nickname but the Doric form of it is puzzling.

4 *cου*] *Ἡ[ρα]κλείδου* seems best. *ἡμῶ]ν* [*Ἡρα]κλείδου* would be long for the space; other names in *-κλείδης* are available but less common.

5 *ὑμῶ]ν*. 'Your wives', including Heracleides, seems more natural than 'our spouses', reading *ἡμῶ]ν*.

μεγά[λῳ] Σαράπιδι. The formula of obeisance to Sarapis is usually taken to indicate that a letter is written from Alexandria (*Aegyptus* 51 (1971) 172–9) and there is no certain contrary instance. Here too it seems best to suppose that the writers were in Alexandria on their legal business and wrote to Oxyrhynchus. However this means that the 'great image' associated with 'the pylon of the temple of Sarapis' in the address will refer to an unknown work of art in the Oxyrhynchite Serapeum and not to the famous statue of Sarapis in Alexandria, of which one cannot help being reminded (cf. *Opusc. Athen.* 7 (1967) 36 n. 55). For the size of the Alexandrian statue cf. *ZPE* 3 (1968) 64 with n. 40. Obviously there is a possibility that the letter was written from Oxyrhynchus to Alexandria, but this means that the obeisance to Sarapis refers to somewhere outside Alexandria, say to the Serapeum in Oxyrhynchus, a usage for which there is no known parallel, and we must then invent some plausible reason for the letter's presence in Oxyrhynchus.

7 *ἄ̣ν̣ο̣μ̣ο̣ν*. This doubtful but very suitable reading is supported by 23–4, *παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἀποφηναμένου*.

8 *Ἀγρίππας*. Agrippa's office is unknown. In view of the fact that this case was in progress before the Heracleitus who was prefect during Caracalla's visit to Alexandria in A.D. 215, there seemed to be a possibility that he should be identified with Marcius Agrippa, Caracalla's *a cognitionibus* and *ab epistulis* (H.-G. Pflaum, *Carrières*, 747–50). However the course of the proceedings seems to indicate

rather that he was a subordinate of the prefects. I am grateful to J. A. Crook and F. G. B. Millar for sobering advice on this point, and their advice has been shown to be good by the subsequent discovery of a nearly contemporary document referring to an Agrippa, certainly not a Marcius, perhaps a Maenius, and perhaps an ex-*iuridicus*, see **3093** 11 n.

9 *Δάτῳ*. Cf. *BASP* 4 (1967) 111; A. Stein, *Die Präf.* 121–3.

10 *χάριτος*. A *donatio* of any sort, cf. R. Taubenschlag, *Law*², 399–401. In the case of W. *Chrest.* 407 (= IV **705**) the *χάρις* was money to buy land which would produce an annual income *εἰς τροφάς . . . τῶν . . . λειτουργησόντων*. Here too it may have been an investment producing an income for Gaia.

13–15 *ἀνεδέξατο τὴν διάγνωσιν*. Though it involves a slightly awkward change of subject it seems likely that this is the equivalent of '*cognitionem suscepit*', of which the subject would be the magistrate, cf. *Syria* 23 (1942–3) 173–94, line 5 '*cognitionem suscipere dominus* (i.e. Caracalla) *dignatus est*.' It is not quite clear whether a hearing ever took place. The phrase *τοῦ ὑπομνήματος προτεθέντος* seems to refer to the posting of the petition in public with a subscription (see 20 n.), consisting presumably of the mere statement that Agrippa would hear the case. Alternatively *ὑπόμνημα* could perhaps mean the record of the proceedings (*Aegyptus* 13 (1933) 333–5), but it is difficult to see why it should have been posted. See also 20 n. for a supporting argument.

16 *ἡγεμόνος Ἰουλίου Βασιλιανοῦ*. The contrast between this and *ἡγεμονεύσαντι Δάτῳ* (9) indicates that the letter was written while Basilianus was still in office. Datus is last attested on 7 March A.D. 217 and may have continued for some months after the death of Caracalla on 8th April, cf. *BASP* 4 (1967) 111, A. Stein, *Die Präf.* 121–2, **3092** 5 n. On the defeat of Macrinus (8 June A.D. 218) Basilianus refused to recognize Elagabalus; he fled from Egypt, only to be caught near Brundisium and taken to Nicomedia, where he was put to death (Dio Xiph. 79. 35. 1). The period available therefore is roughly a year, summer A.D. 217 to about June A.D. 218, or a little later.

17 *ἐπιβάντος τῇ πόλει*. The city is most probably Alexandria, cf. *Dig.* 1. 17. 1 '*praefectus Aegypti non prius deponit praefecturam . . . quam Alexandriam ingressus sit successor eius.*' But Oxyrhynchus is remotely possible.

ἐνέτυχον. The prescript says that the letter is from two persons and up to this point the narrative uses the third person of the principal party, Gaia. Here it changes to the first person but still refers to Gaia, as the feminine participles show. Sarapas is a man's name.

19 *διάταξιν*. This word is used of the pronouncements of high authorities, cf. BGU III 970. 23 *ταῖς ἡγεμονικαῖς καὶ αὐτοκρατορικαῖς διατάξεσιν*. It is strange that Agrippa dared to criticize an edict, but since we have only Gaia's outline of the proceedings it may well be that Agrippa merely doubted the application of the edict to her case. Alternatively he may have thought that it was incorrectly quoted or even forged. [The Press reader has suggested to me that if Heracleitus' departure from office was ignominious—as has been thought, but which we do not know—his edicts may have been open to question. The idea is worth consideration, though I do not see for the moment how to seek confirmation and though I am reluctant to envisage such political repercussions on private litigation without explicit evidence.]

20 *Ἡρακλείτου*. *BASP* 4 (1967) 111; H.-G. Pflaum, *Carrières*, 687; A. Stein, *Die Präf.* 117–20. The petition to Heracleitus is the earliest stage mentioned in the letter which begins *in medias res* with a brief allusion to the latest stage known to the recipient, the judgement of Agrippa. Heracleitus had provided a subscription which was not, as we might have guessed from what precedes, simply a delegation to Agrippa, but contained a clause that the petitioner thought relevant at the very end (33–4).

The expression *τὸ Ἡρακλείτου βιβλίδιον καὶ τὴν ὑπογραφήν* must clearly mean 'the petition *to* Heracleitus and his subscription', which encourages the view that *τὸ Ἀγρίππα ὑπόμνημα* (22) means 'the petition to Agrippa' rather than 'the record of proceedings before Agrippa'. Likewise the *ὑπόμνημα* is likely to be the same as the one in 14 f., see 13–15 n.

26 *τὰ προσφωνηθέντα*. A *προσφώνησις* in this legal connection would be expert evidence submitted to the court in the form of a written report, e.g. by the property registrars, cf. II **237** v 10, 15–16, 20, 29–30, 36, vi 9, or by a jurisconsult, **237** vii 14–15, viii 2. *τὰ προσφωνηθέντα* evidently refers to property of some kind, so that here too a report of the property registrars may be meant. Why this property is an alternative to her own can only be guessed at. There is some ground for thinking that there was a pledge that would be forfeited to Gaia if some other emolument were not paid, cf. 29 n. One might also compare in a general way M. *Chrest.* 93, where the plaintiff claims either the share in an estate left her by will or alternatively the two talents which the testator had deposited with a third person as a pledge for her legacy.

28 τὸ ὑπόμνημα παραπεμψάμενος. This probably means 'on sending back the petition' but it is unfortunate that the verb is not unambiguous, because there is some uncertainty about the procedure of returning the answers to petitions. Some were undoubtedly displayed in public (cf. P. Yale 61, XVII **2131**) and a few extant subscriptions conclude with the word πρόθες, which is plain (XVII **2131** 19, VII **1032** 45, BGU II 582. 3). Perhaps 14–15 refer to this procedure, see 13–15 n. More commonly the subscription closes with ἀπόδος. Wilcken took this as the equivalent of the Latin *ede*, meaning 'publish' (*Hermes* 55 (1920) 29–42) and was followed by O. Reinmuth (*Prefect*, 93–4). In P. Würzb. 9. 74 n., however, Wilcken withdrew that hypothesis and returned to his earlier explanation that it was an instruction to a subordinate official to return the subscribed petition to the applicant. παραπεμψάμενος is most easily taken to refer to this sort of transaction but it could mean 'sending on' to the lesser officials who saw to the public display of petitions, or even 'rejecting', though this would not agree well with the ambiguity of the subscription.

29–30 τοῖς νομίμοις ̀μο̣[υ] ́χρή̣[ς]ασθαι. This vague subscription ranges itself with two others which have puzzled the commentators (O. Reinmuth, *Prefect*, 91, M. *Gdz.* 39); BGU II 614. 18–19 εἴ τι δίκαιον ἔχεις, τούτῳ χρῆσθαι δύνασαι and the incomplete II **237** v 38 . . . δικαίοις χρῆσθαι δύνασαι. To which one may now add P. Wisc. I 2. 24 -οις χρῆσθαι δύνα[ς]αι. This one also puzzled Gaia. She calls it ambiguous (ἀμφίλοξος, hitherto only in Ps.-Luc. *Philopatr.* 5), and it forced her to submit yet another petition to the prefect. The phrase τοῖς νομίμοις χρῆσθαι apparently means 'to exercise one's legal rights' (or 'to use process of law'? LSJ s.v. νόμιμος II, 2) and other appearances of it refer to creditors taking possession of a forfeited pledge, see *Archiv* 3 (1906) 96–7. To the documentary references in *Archiv* 3(1906) 96–7 add a literary one from Plut. *Mor.* III (*de vit. pud.*) 533B, πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ διὰ δυσωπίαν προέμενοι τὸ πιστὸν ὕστερον ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς νομίμοις μετ' ἔχθρας. The Loeb edition translates, 'For many who start out by waiving security for fear of giving offence later go to law and lose their friend.' The context stresses the inadvisability of allowing a false sense of shame to persuade one to make loans to friends without normal legal security. Wilamowitz's suspicions of νομίμοις are seen to be groundless.

32–3 ετα̣-. The only obvious possibility is ἐτά̣[33][ζου]ς̣α or -[σα]ς̣α, but the sense of 'examine, test' is not very easy. επα̣-, e.g. ἐπάγουσα, is very much less suitable to the traces, perhaps impossible. Mr. Parsons suggests that we should correct to ἐ⟨ν⟩τά̣[33][ξα]ς̣α, which gives excellent sense, cf. e.g. P. Cair. Isid. 11. 9, 13. 7, 64. 14. For the loss of the nasal cf. Mayser–Schmoll, 170, § (c).

33 ἀ̣ξ̣[ι]ώ̣σασα. This is apparently unparalleled in the sense of asking a question and the reading is not absolutely sure. ἐρωτήσασα cannot be read. It is perhaps tolerable to think of this as an ellipse of what she actually said in her petition, something like ἀξιῶ . . . δηλῶσαί μοι . . . εἰ . . . θέλεις.

35 αὐτῇ: i.e. τῇ τοῦ Ἡρακλείτου ὑπογραφῇ.

37]. . ειν: before -ειν, perhaps *rho*; e.g. συγχ]ω̣ρ̣εῖν.

40 θαλλοδοτοῦντι. Cf. Suet. *Vesp.* 7. 1, which tells the story of a vision of an absent and distant person experienced by Vespasian in the Alexandrian Serapeum, 'verbenas coronasque et panificia, ut illic assolet, Basilides libertus obtulisse ei visus est.' I have been unable to find out anything more of this custom of offering *verbenae* or θαλλοί to visitors in temples. Another Oxyrhynchus papyrus to be published by Mr. Parsons mentions θαλλοδόται without shedding much light on them. Presumably they were minor priests.

44 μεγάλῃ εἰκόνι. See 5 n. for the doubts raised by this.

3095–3098. Documents Relating to Tribal Cycles

Since the discovery of **3095**, first published by J. B. Lidov in *TAPA* 99 (1968) 259–63, three more texts relating to the rotation of the duty of filling liturgical offices among the tribes at Oxyrhynchus have turned up, bringing new information.

Mr. Lidov's contract mentioned the sixth tribe, previously unknown, which with the earlier evidence allowed him to calculate that the tribal system began with the institution of six tribes, the first of which served for the first time in A.D. 206/7. The

other five tribes served annually in succession to the first, which was then required to serve for the second time in A.D. 212/13. From this year, with the beginning of the second cycle, comes the first use of the term περίοδος in this sense (VII **1030**). The first cycle of six years is not yet found designated in this way.

The latest stage of this system that Mr. Lidov could cite dated from A.D. 222/3, the fifth year of the third cycle (P. Mich. XI 604). Two of the new documents carry us forward in the way that might have been predicted into the sixth year of the third cycle, A.D. 223/4 (**3096**) and into the first year of the fourth cycle, A.D. 224/5 (**3097**). The third new document, **3098**, introduces us to a change in the system.

This is an undertaking to fill a liturgical post in a village of the nome. The official was nominated ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς ϵ̄ καὶ ς̄ φυλ(ῆς) ἀμφοδογρ(αμματέως) in the twelfth year of the reign of Severus Alexander, A.D. 232/3. By extension of Mr. Lidov's system the fifth tribe should have had its fifth turn in A.D. 234/5 and the sixth tribe its fifth turn in A.D. 235/6. Instead of which we find both tribes—or rather, if the singular article τῆς is not mistaken, an amalgamation of them called ἡ πέμπτη καὶ ἕκτη φυλή—serving under a single secretary in a single year, and that a couple of years earlier than expected.

From this it may reasonably be concluded that increasing difficulty in filling the posts made it expedient to double the size of the body from which candidates could be chosen, and shorten the interval between periods of corporate liability. This meant that the cycle was reduced to three years instead of six and the tribes served in pairs instead of singly.

The innovation could be made only at the beginning of a cycle, if it were not to be unfair to some of the tribes. Calculation shows that the fourth cycle was completed on the older system and that the new system was introduced at the beginning of the fifth cycle, as set out below in the table, which is an augmented version of Mr. Lidov's.

Cycle	1	2	3	4	5
Tribe 1	206/7 (XVII **2131**)	212/13 (VII **1030**)	(218/19)	224/5 (**3097**)	Tribes 1+2 (230/1)
2	(207/8)	(213/14)	(219/20)	(225/6)	
3	208/9 (X **1267**)	214/15 (XII **1552**)	(220/1)	(226/7)	3+4 (231/2)
4	(209/10)	(215/16)	(221/2)	(227/8)	
5	(210/11)	(216/17)	222/3 (P. Mich. 604)	(228/9)	5+6 232/3 (**3098**)
6	(211/12)	217/18 (**3095**)	223/4 (**3096**)	(229/30)	

How far this system continued is not yet known, but Professor Mertens has deduced from VIII **1119** that a nine-year cycle was in use somewhat later (*Les Services*, 17). However, Dr. Shelton, in P. Mich. XI 604. 5 n., suggests that **1119** has no bearing on the cyclic system, but simply draws the attention of the newly instituted phylarch to the

petitioners' rights, established under the regime of the district scribes, and Dr. Alan Bowman interprets the same evidence in yet another way, see his system described below.

It appears likely from the arrangement of the corn-dole archive that there were twelve tribes in the period around A.D. 268–72, see P. Oxy. XL, pp. 6–7. Hardly anything else is known except that there were at least three tribes in the reign of Aurelian (XII **1413** 12, 13), and that a tribal system continued as late as A.D. 396 (P. Flor. I 39). If PSI I 86 is from Oxyrhynchus and rightly read there were at least sixteen tribes *c.* A.D. 367–75. First and second tribes are mentioned in XXIV **2407**, of uncertain date. A second tribe is mentioned in XIV **1642** 43, of A.D. 288/9.

From these rather unpromising data Dr. Bowman has constructed a very attractive though still hypothetical scheme to carry the table of tribal cycles up to the reign of Aurelian. He suggests that all that is needed is one simple change to twelve tribes in the reign of Philip, during which we know there were changes of administrative procedure which included the replacement of the *amphodogrammateus* by the phylarch (XXXIII **2664** introd.). This can also cover the situation in VIII **1119**. Persons liable for service in 2 Philip, A.D. 244/5, in τῆς πρὸ ταύτης περιόδου, were to be liable again in A.D. 253/4, called 'the coming fourth year (of Gallus and Volusianus)'. If we simply extend the table above we find that in A.D. 244/5 liturgists would be chosen from the amalgamated fifth and sixth tribes. If the change to twelve tribes began in the next year, A.D. 245/6, the ninth tribe would be in office in A.D. 253/4. If the change meant the simple division of each existing tribe into two, the ninth tribe would be half of the old fifth tribe, so that a person liable in A.D. 244/5 as a member of the fifth tribe might well be required to serve again in A.D. 253/4 as a member of the new ninth tribe.

The members of the third tribe who appear in XII **1413** can under this system have been active in public services only in A.D. 271/2. At the end of this Egyptian year Aurelian recovered Egypt, see P. Oxy. XL, 15–26. One of the topics discussed in **1413** is the city's gift of a gold crown and Nike to him, perhaps to mark this particular victory.

Another section of **1413** concerns the supply of oil to the gymnasium in Mesore, the last month of a Graeco-Egyptian year, and Thoth, the first month of the next year. Presumably this would be approximately August–September A.D. 272, since at this time in the preceding year Vaballathus was associated with Aurelian. This means that the actual date of **1413** would be in the beginning of the Egyptian year A.D. 272/3 in the term of the fourth tribe, but the appearance of the third tribe can easily relate to the previous year, the last month of which is discussed.

The simplicity of this hypothesis is very attractive. It deserves to be borne in mind and tested against future discoveries in the papyri. It is set out in more detail in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, Appendix 2, pp. 149–53.

There follows below a version of Dr. Bowman's extension of the table of known tribal rotation. Since the numbers of the cycles are not yet attested they have been left out of account.

			New	Old				
A.D. 233/4	1+2	A.D. 245/6	1	1	A.D. 257/8	1	A.D. 269/70	1
234/5	3+4	246/7	2		258/9	2	270/1	2
235/6	5+6	247/8	3	2	259/60	3	271/2	3
236/7	1+2	248/9	4		260/1	4		
237/8	3+4	249/50	5	3	261/2	5		
238/9	5+6	250/1	6		262/3	6		
239/40	1+2	251/2	7	4	263/4	7		
240/1	3+4	252/3	8		264/5	8		
241/2	5+6	253/4	9	5	265/6	9		
242/3	1+2	254/5	10		266/7	10		
243/4	3+4	255/6	11	6	267/8	11		
244/5	5+6	256/7	12		268/9	12		

Dr. Bowman also points out that the continuation of this system would not allow the second tribe mentioned in a document of A.D. 288/9 to be the tribe in office for that year, but that this is not an obstacle, because there was another reform early in Diocletian's reign which included the replacement of the phylarch by the systates, and because the context is too badly damaged to indicate whether the second tribe was in office then or not (XIV **1642** 43).

3095. Substitution in a Liturgy[1]

20 3B.31/G(1–2)d 8·4×23·3 cm. A.D. 217/18

→ ὁμολογοῦσι ἀλλήλοις Αὐρήλιοι
Ἀπολλῶς Δωρᾶτος τοῦ Ἀπολλω-
νίου μ[η]τρὸς Ἀπολλωνίας καὶ
Θέων ὁ καὶ Ἰουλιανὸς Διονυσίου
μητρὸς Σινθώνιος ἀμφότερ[οι
ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως, ὁ μὲν
Ἀπολλῶς εἰσδοθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ
τ]ῆς ϛ̄ φυλῆς β̄ περιόδου
ἀμφοδογραμματέως εἰς ἐπι-
στολαφορίαν συνηλλαχέν[αι
τ]ῷ Θέων[ι] τῷ καὶ Ἰουλιανῷ
τ]ὴν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ χώραν
ἀ]ναπληρῶσαι ἔν τε δια-

[1] One or two very minor textual changes have been made since the publication of the *editio princeps* in *TAPA* 99 (1968) 259–63. The most important are the readings of the day of the month in 27 and 28, still a little doubtfully, as δ̣ε̣κ̣ά̣δ̣ι and τ̣ρ̣ι̣α̣[κάδι. The back is blank.

πομπῇ μηνιαίων καὶ ἐπι-
στολῶν καὶ ἄλλων διαφερόν̣[των
τῇ αὐτῇ λειτουργίᾳ πρὸς τ[ὸ
ἀπερενόχλητον εἶναι τὸν
Ἀπολλώνιον, συνηλλαχέν̣[αι
δὲ τ̣ῷ αὐτῷ τὴν δηλουμέν̣[ην
λει[το]υργίαν ἀπὸ ᾱ Μεχεὶρ
τοῦ [ἐ]νεστῶτος β (ἔτους) ἐπὶ τὸ πέ-
ρας τῆς λειτουργίας χρόν̣ον
λαμβάνων παρὰ τ̣[ο]ῦ̣ Ἀπολλων̣[ίου
κατὰ μῆνα ἕκ[ας]τον ὑπὲρ
ὀψωνίου δραχμὰς τριάκοντ̣α
δύο ἐπὶ τῷ ταύτας λαμβάνειν
τῇ μὲν δ̣ε̣κ̣ά̣δ̣ι ἑκάστου μ̣η̣ν̣ὸ̣[ς
δραχμ̣ὰς [δεκαὲξ καὶ τῇ] τ̣ρ̣ι̣α̣[κάδι
ὁμ[οί]ω̣ς τὰ[ς λοιπὰς δραχμὰς δεκα-
ὲξ καὶ μὴ [ἐξεῖναι μηδενὶ παρα-
βαίνειν τ̣[ι τῶν προκειμένων
ἢ ὁ παραβ[αίνων ἐκτίσει ὑπὲρ
ἐπιτίμου [δραχμὰς
κύριον τ[ὸ συνάλλαγμα δισσὸν
γ]ραφὲν π̣ρ̣[ὸς τὸ ἕκαστον μέρος [ἔχειν μοναχόν . . .

. . . . .

13 fortasse l. τῇ 17 l. ἀπαρενόχλητον 22 l. χρόνου sed v. notam

'This is an agreement between Aurelius Apollos, the son of Doras, the grandson of Apollonius, his mother being Apollonia, and Aurelius Theon, also known as Julian, the son of Dionysius, his mother being Sinthonis, both from Oxyrhynchus; (6) that Apollos, who was nominated by the district-scribe of the sixth tribe in the second cycle to the office of letter-carrier, transfers his post to Theon, also known as Julian, to fill instead of himself, in carrying monthly reports, letters, and whatever else pertains to the said liturgy, to the end that Apollos be untroubled; (18) and that he contracts with the same for the described liturgy from the first of Mecheir of the present second year until the term of (the) time (?) of the liturgy, receiving from Apollos every month thirty-two drachmas for his salary, on the condition that he take them as [sixteen] drachmas on the 10th of each month [and on the] 30th similarly [the remaining] six[teen drachmas]; (30) and that it is not [permissible for anyone to] violate anything [of what is stated above] or the one who violates it [shall pay as] a penalty [. . . drachmas. The contract is] valid, being written [in duplicate so that each party has one copy.'

2 The oblique cases of *Ἀπολλῶς* are declined as if the name were *Ἀπολλώνιος*.

9–10 *ἐπιστολαφορία*. This word is not found in LSJ, but the meaning is clear.[1] Wilcken's conjecture (*Grundz.* 373–4) that the *ἐπιστολαφόροι* were carriers of official correspondence seems to be confirmed by

[1] It has appeared again, since Mr. Lidov wrote this note, in P. Petaus 84. 3.

the *μηνιαίων* of line 14. Their essentially official tasks would not exclude occasional transport of private mail, as in P. Flor. III 371. This is the first mention of the office as a liturgy. Like the other five known liturgists whom the *amphodogrammateus* nominated, the *epistolaphoros* was probably a local official (see Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, 172, and Mertens, *Les Services*, p. 96). Hence the editors' suggestion at P. Ryl. II 78. 24 that there was a definite organization of the *epistolaphoroi* within the nome is probably correct.

15 The space at the end of the line may be insufficient for [*των*; perhaps [⟨*των*⟩ or an abbreviation should be read.

18 The subject of *συνηλλαχέναι* here is unclear. I take it to be Theon; *τῷ αὐτῷ* then refers to Apollos (the subject of the previous clause, and—in line 18—the closest possible antecedent). The expression is clumsy, but I consider this the better interpretation, because: (1) although the use of *συναλλάσσω* in the active to refer to the party assuming the liturgy is much less common, that meaning is certain in P. Flor. I 39 (= W. *Chrest.* 405) 5; so too LSJ s.v. II. 2; (2) *λαμβάνων* in line 23 must refer to Theon; (3) a change of subject is suggested by *μὲν . . . δέ*; (4) a statement of the other party's agreement is certainly expected (cf. P. Leit. 13 and other parallels); (5) the repetition thus seems less cumbersome. A construction with Apollos as the subject, however, can be defended, and perhaps rightly, on the grounds that *λαμβάνων* can be regarded as a nominative erroneously put for *λαμβάνοντι*, that Theon's agreement could easily have been confined to a short statement at the bottom, that lines 18–20 would then resume and parallel the construction of lines 10–12, and that the run of the Greek is on the whole less clumsy if the subject is unchanged.

22 *χρόνον* accounts well for all the traces, but note that of the *chi* only the lower-left and the end of the upper-right diagonal remain, the *rho* is mostly complete but the following ligature goes directly down from the close of the loop and then up diagonally to form a high, small *omicron*, and the *nu* has an unusually high second vertical, with an almost horizontal cross-bar, not characteristic of this hand. If the reading is correct, then it is probably a mistake for the genitive, though in that case we would expect the article too. (Prof. Shelton has suggested that the accusative is correct, but that the following statement of the actual duration of the contract, e.g. *ἐνιαύσιον*, has dropped out.)

27–30 The *ταύτας* of line 26 and the legible remains of line 27 indicate that the terms of payment, probably semi-monthly, followed. The restoration follows a suggestion of Prof. Shelton.

30 seq. Cf. X 1278 30 and BGU IV 1062 (= W. *Chrest.* 276). 29.

3096. Complaint of an Error in Records[1]

15 2B.39/F(e) 8 × 14 cm. A.D. 223/4

→ *Αὐρηλίῳ Διονυσίῳ ἀμφοδογρ(αμματεῖ)*
ς̄ φυλῆς γ̄ περιόδου
παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Διογένους τοῦ καὶ Παυσειρί-
ωνος Διογένους τοῦ Ἀμόιτος μητ(ρὸς) Ταθωνᾶτος
5 *[ἀ]πὸ Ὀξ(υρύγχων) πόλ(εως). ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθον τὸν υἱόν μου*
Ἡρᾶν μητρὸς Ταύριος ὁμογνησίας
ἀδελφῆς ἐν τῇ καταχωρισθείσῃ τῷ
διελθόντι β (ἔτει) γραφῇ ἀφηλίκων
ἐν τάξει τρις[.]καιδεκαετῶν κα-
10 *τὰ γραφικὴν πλάνην τετάχθαι*

[1] This document was transcribed and studied by Dr. Ursula Schlag, during a visit to London. Its publication was postponed so that it could be presented here with the other texts illustrating the system of tribal cycles.

Ἡρᾶν Διογένους μητρὸς Ταυσείριος
ὁμογνησίας ἀδελφῆς τοῦ πατρὸς
(δωδεκάδραχμον) ἀπὸ γυμνασίου δέον Ἡρᾶν Διογέ-
νους τοῦ κ̣α̣ὶ̣ Π̣α̣υ̣σ̣ε̣ι̣ρ̣ί̣ω̣ν̣ο̣ς̣ Δ̣ι̣ο̣γ̣έ̣-
νους μητρὸς Ταύριος ὁμογνησίας
ἀδελφῆς τοῦ πατρό̣ς̣, διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι τὸ
ἀξίω̣μ̣[α

. . . . .

Back → *(π)ρ(ος)γι(νόμενος?) εἰς ι.ϟ*
(One line of shorthand)

1 *αμ'φοδογρϛ* 4 *μη*^{τ} 5 *οξ'πο̂, υϊον* 8 *βϛ, η* corr. 13 *ιβϛ* 15 *ταϋριος*

'To Aurelius Dionysius, district secretary of the sixth tribe, third cycle, from Aurelius Diogenes alias Pausirion, son of Diogenes, grandson of Amois, mother Tathonas, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. Since I have learned that my son Heras, mother Tauris, (my) full sister, has been entered in the list of minors registered in the past second year in the category of thirteen-year-olds by a clerical error as "Heras, son of Diogenes, mother Tausiris, full sister of the father, twelve-drachma gymnasium class", when it ought to be "Heras, son of Diogenes alias Pausirion, grandson of Diogenes, mother Tauris, full sister of the father", I therefore submit this request . . .'

(Back) 'New entry to the category of . . .'

8 *διελθόντι β (ἔτει)* = 2 Severus Alexander = A.D. 222/3, so that this document dates from A.D. 223/4, which agrees with what could be calculated from the tribe and cycle numbers in line 2.

18 *(π)ρ(ος)γι(νόμενος?) εἰς ι.ϟ*. Other parts of *προσγίνεσθαι* are possible. For the usual form of the abbreviation see XL **2915** 20 n. It may be represented in print as *ρ'γι*$^{-}$. Here the curved stroke which is a vestigial *pi* has changed its form somewhat, descending almost straight from high above *rho* to the foot of *gamma* at an angle very near the perpendicular.

The category into which the boy is newly entered must be either the (*δωδεκαδράχμους*) or the (*τεσσαρεσκαιδεκαετεῖς*), for which we should need either *ιβϟ* (cf. PSI III 164. 14 and n.) or *ιδϟ* (cf. XL **2939** 12). The remains of the doubtful letter are fairly extensive, but seem puzzlingly anomalous for either *β* or *δ*. I think it is more likely to be an elaborate *beta*.

3097. Oath of Office

27 3B.41/B(1–2)a 7 × 30 cm. 27 December A.D. 224–25 January A.D. 225

→ *μ̣[ητ]ρο( ) Παλώσεως*

Αὐρηλίῳ Ἁρποκρατί-
ωνι στρατηγῷ Ὀξ(υρυγχίτου).
Αὐρήλιος Ἐπίμαχος χρη-
ματίζων μητρὸς̣ [
. . .τος ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων

πό]λ̣εως, εἰcδοθεὶc ὑπὸ τοῦ̣
τῆc α̣′ φυ̣λ̣ῆc γραμ[μα-
τ̣[έωc] τ̣ῆc δ′ περιόδο[υ
εἰc πρακτ̣[ο]ρείαν c̣[ιτι-
κῶν μ̣η̣τρο(πολιτικῶν) λημμ̣[άτων
Π̣α̣λώcεωc τοῦ ἐνε-
cτῶτοc δ (ἔτουc), ὀμνύω
τὴν Αὐρηλίου Cεουήρου
Ἀλεξά̣ν̣δ̣ρου Καίcαροc
τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ κ̣υ̣ρ̣ί̣ο̣υ̣ τύχην εὐθέ-
ωc ἀντιλήμψεcθ(αι) τ̣ῆc
δηλ(ουμένηc) χρείαc καὶ ἐκτ[ελ(έcειν)] τ̣[αύ-
την ἐμφανὴc ὢν ὑγιῶc
καὶ πιcτῶc εἰc τὸ ἐν μηδενὶ
μεμφθῆναι ἢ ἔνοχοc εἴ-
ην τῷ ὅρκῳ. παρέcχον
δὲ ἐμα(υτοῦ) ἐνγ(υητὴν) Αὐρήλ(ιον) Πετ-
cεῖριν Διδύμου μητ(ρὸc) Θα..
ριοc ὅμπερ γνωρίζει
Ἡράκλειο̣c̣ ὁ καὶ C̣α̣ρ̣α̣πίων
Cαραπίωνοc μη....
θα̣τ̣η.[.]. ἀμφοτ(έρουc) παρόν-
ταc κ̣α̣ὶ εὐδοκοῦνταc.
(ἔτουc) δ Αὐτοκράτοροc Καίcαροc
Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Cεουήρου
Ἀλεξάνδρου Εὐcεβ[ο]ῦc
Εὐτυχο̣ῦ̣[c̣] C̣εβαcτοῦ, Τ̣ῦ̣β̣ι̣
-̣. (vac.)
(Margin, upwards across the fibres)]λ̣ημ̣( )

. . . . .

1 μ̣[ητ]ροʾ 3 οξ′ 6 οξυρυγ'χων 11 μ̣η̣τροʾ 13 δϛ 17 αντιλημψεcθ 18 δηλ 23 εμα¯ ενγ¯ αυρηλ 24 μητ 28 αμφοτ 30 Lδ 35]λ̣ημ̣

'Metro(politan revenues?) of Palosis. To Aurelius Harpocration, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome. I, Aurelius Epimachus known officially as the son of my mother . . ., from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, having been nominated by the secretary of the first tribe of the fourth cycle to be collector of the grain taxes for the metropolitan revenues from (the village of) Palosis for the present fourth year, swear by the *genius* of Aurelius Severus Alexander Caesar, the lord, to undertake the aforesaid

service and to complete it, remaining in attendance soundly and reliably so as to be in no way blameworthy, or may I be liable to (the penalties for breaking) the oath. And I provided as guarantor for myself Aurelius Petseiris, son of Didymus, mother Thacoris (?), who is identified by Heracleius alias Sarapion son of Sarapion, mother . . ., both present and consenting. Year 4 of Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, Tybi (day).'

1 μ[ητ]ρο( ). Cf. 11; expand to *μητρο(πολιτικῶν λημμάτων) vel sim.* The hand seems to be the same as in the body of the document.

8–9 γραμ[μα]^{9}τ[έως]. In this place *ἀμφοδογραμματέως* is expected, cf. e.g. I 81 7 (with BL i p. 314), 3098 8.

12 *Παλώσεως*. The beginning has been corrected out of something now uncertain.

18 The common form supplement is much too long. Probably, therefore, *ἐκτελέσειν* was abbreviated to εκτε^{λ}.

24–5 Read probably *Θακῶ*^{25}*ριος*. The letter read ϰ has been corrected from something now uncertain.

25–6 At the end of 25 there is a filler sign but certainly no version of *Αὐρήλιος*. It would be hazardous to claim that Heracleius was not a citizen. It might well be that the scribe was thinking of some form of words in which the abbreviated *Αὐρηλ*( ) could have applied both to the guarantor and to the witness of identity.

35 This may represent *μητρο(πολιτικῶν)*?] *λημ(μάτων) vel sim.* Like the depth of the surviving margin, *c.* 6 cm., it suggests that there were no subscriptions, cf. 3098 26 n.

The back is occupied by 40 lines of cursive fairly badly abraded. The document describes itself in a heading as an *ἐντολικόν*, i.e. a list of commissions entrusted to a correspondent. It mentions 'the past fifth year', which may, but need not, indicate that the back was used about two years later than the front. The writing runs across the fibres.

3098. Oath of Office

21 3B.26/D(1–4)c 6·5 × 16 cm. A.D. 232/3

→ .. *Κεσμοῦ[χ-*
Αὐρηλίῳ Λεω[νίδῃ στρ(ατηγῷ)
Ὀξ(υρυγχίτου) [
Αὐρήλιος Ματρῆᾶς Ἡ[ρακλεί-
δου μητρὸς Διονυ[σ]ί[ας ἀ]π' Ὀξυ-
ρύγχων πόλεως εἰσδοθεὶς
ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς ε̄ καὶ ξ̄ φυλ(ῆς)
ἀμφοδογρ(αμματέως) τῆς πέμπτης
περιόδου εἰς πρακτορίαν
σειτικῶν μητρο(πολιτικῶν) λημμά-
των Κεσμούχεως τοῦ ἐν[ε-
στῶτος ιβ̄ [(ἔτους)] ὀμνύω [τὴν
Αὐρηλίου Σευήρου Ἀλεξάν[δρου
Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου τύχη[ν

ἀντιλήμψασθαι τ̣ῇ̣[ς δη-
λουμένης χρείας καὶ ἐκ̣τ̣ε̣-
λέσειν ταύτην ἐ⟨μ⟩φανὴς ὢ̣[ν
ὑγιῶς καὶ πιστῶς εἰς
τὸ ⟨ἐν⟩ μηδενὶ μεμφθῆ-
ναι ᾖ ἔνο̣⟨χο⟩ς̣ εἴην [τ]ῷ̣ ὅ̣ρκ̣ῳ,
παρέσχον δὲ ἐμαυτοῦ
ἐνγυητὴν Αὐρήλ(ιον) Πλοῦ-
τον Ἀφύγχειος μητρὸς
Τας̣ν̣ε̣ῆτος ἀπὸ Σενέ-
πτα παρόντ̣α̣ καὶ εὐ-
δ̣[οκοῦντα

. . . . .

3 οξ′ 5–6 οξυρυγ'χων 7 ϋπο, φυ^λ 8 αμφοδογρ∫ 10 μητρο' 15 l. ἀντιλήμψεσθαι 22 αυρη^λ 23 αφυγ'χειος

'. . . Kesmouchis. To Aurelius Leonides, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome. I, Aurelius Matreas (?), son of Heracleides (?), mother Dionysia, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, nominated by the district secretary of the fifth and sixth tribe of the fifth cycle to be collector of the grain taxes for the metropolitan revenues from (the village of) Kesmouchis for the present 12th year, swear by the *genius* of Aurelius Severus Alexander Caesar, the lord, to undertake the aforesaid service and to complete it, remaining in attendance soundly and reliably so as to be in no way blameworthy, or may I be liable to (the penalties for breaking) the oath. And I provided as guarantor for myself Aurelius Plutus, son of Aphynchis, mother Tasneës (?) from (the village of) Senepta, who is present and gives his consent . . .'

1 Before *Κεσμου*[*χ*- (see 11) there seem to be remains of only two or three letters, the last one probably raised to indicate an abbreviation. One expects *μητρο'*, comparing **3097** 1, 11, and 10 here, and the abrasion is so bad that [*μητ*]*ρ̣ο̣'* is possible, though there is a strong horizontal ligature to the following kappa which is not very suitable.

4 *Αυρήλιο̣ς Μα̣τ̣ρ̣ή̣α̣ς*. ο̣ has been corrected, perhaps from α̣, and is far from clear. The correction might encompass -ο̣ς, in which case the following name would begin with *Σ̣μ*- or *Ο̣μ*-. *Μα̣τ̣ρ̣ή̣α̣ς* (a variant of *Ματρέας*?) suits the traces better than anything else that I can devise, but it is put forward only very tentatively.

12 *ιβ̣*. The second figure is badly abraded, but the traces are very suitable for a double-bowed *beta* extending below the line. None of the other theoretically available figures (*α*, *γ*, *δ*) could possibly be read.

For the omission of *Μάρκου* from the oath formula E. Seidl (*Der Eid*, i 15 n. 9) cites PSI IX 1066; so too **3097** 14.

20 *ἔνο̣⟨χο⟩ς̣*. The formula is standard, but what was written seems much too short for *ἔνοχος*. In view of *ἐ⟨μ⟩φανής* (17) and *τὸ ⟨ἐν⟩ μηδενί* (19), I have suggested *ἔνο̣⟨χο⟩ς̣*, but perhaps an abbreviation *ἐνο̣χ̣* for *ἔνο̣χ(ος)* is also possible.

[*τ*]*ῳ̣ρκῳ* rather than [*τ*]*ῷ̣ ὅ̣ρκ̣ῳ* may be what was actually written.

24 *Τας̣ν̣ε̣ῆτος*. This too is doubtfully read and I can suggest no known name.

26 After this might have followed the subscriptions of the liturgist and his guarantor, cf. VI **972** and XII **1455**, but there are none in **3097**.

3099–3102. Documents relating to the Gerusia

The gerusia of Oxyrhynchus has hitherto been known from three texts only, P. Ryl. IV 599, PSI XII 1240, and P. Lond. Inv. 2193 (edition in P. Mertens, *Les Services*, 88–92). The standard treatment of it is that by E. G. Turner in *Archiv* 12 (1937) 179–86; see also M. A. H. El-Abbadi, 'The Gerousia in Roman Egypt', *JEA* 50 (1964) 164–9.

The salient new fact which emerges here is that these applicants were chiefly interested in it because membership entitled them to be maintained at the public expense. It was in part, therefore, an old age pension scheme, and one which followed the tradition of Greek and Roman charities in being confined to those who could prove, not their need, but their inherited social status.

3099. Application to Join the Gerusia

36 4B.100/H(2–3)b 6·5 × 16 cm.; 6·5 × 16 cm. 27 November–26 December A.D. 225

This application, like PSI XII 1240, survives in two copies. Both are in the same hand and without head or foot. The similar pattern of damage suggests that they were found rolled or folded up together. Texts of both are given, but the translation is conflated, beginning with a few words which survive only in the first copy and ending with some that are preserved only in the second. Both backs are blank.

i

. . . . .

→ .....].[
.....].[...]...[
λαμπ]ρᾶc. γεγονὼc ἤ[δη πρὸc τὸ
ἐνεc[τ]ὸc ϵ (ἔτοc) ἐτῶν π[ϵντήκοντα
ὀκ[τὼ] καὶ ἔχω[ν κατὰ τὰ δοκι-
μαcθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀξιολο[γωτάτου
Πϵτρωνιανοῦ τὴν τῶν τρϵφ[ο-
μένων ἡλικίαν δηλῶ ἐμαυτὸ(ν)
ἀναγράφϵcθαι ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) Δρόμο(υ)
Γυμν(ακίου) καὶ ἐπικϵκρίcθαι τῇ πρὸ(c)
τὸ κδ (ἔτοc) θϵοῦ Cϵουήρου Ἀντωνίνο(υ)
κατ' οἰκ(ίαν) ἀπογρ(αφῆ) ἐπ' ἀμφόδου {Δρ[ό]μο[υ}
τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἐτῶν) μη, ἧc ἐπι[κρί-
cϵ]ωc τὸ ἀνῆκον μ[έροc

ἐγ]λαβὼν ἐκ τῆ[c ἐπὶ τόπων
δ]ημοσίας βιβ[λιοθήκης
ὑπ]έταξα καὶ ἀξι[ῶ ἐνταγῆναί
με ἐν] τ̣οῖ̣ς μ̣έλλ̣[ουσι τρέ]φ̣[ες]θαι.
καὶ ὀμνύω τὴν Μάρκου Αὐρηλίο(υ)
Ceουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου Καίcαροc
τοῦ κυρίου τύχην εἶναί με τῶ[ν
προκειμένων (ἐτῶν) νη, μηδὲν
δὲ διεψεῦcθαι. (ἔτους) ϵ″ Αὐτοκράτορ[oc
Καίcαροc Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
Ceουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου Εὐcεβο(ῦc)
Εὐτυχοῦc Cεβαcτοῦ, Χοιάκ.
ἐ̣γλημ(ψις) ἐκ δημ(οσίας) βιβλ(ιοθήκης) ἐκ πε̣δ̣(ιακοῦ) ἐ̣[πικ(ρίcεως)
τῆς πρὸς τὸ κδ (ἔτος)] θ̣ε̣ο̣[ῦ Ceο]υήρου [

. . . . .

4 ϵ∫ 6 ϋπο 8 εμαυτ° 9 αμφο^{δ} δρομῡ 10 γυμν∫, πρῡ 11 κδ∫, αντωνινῡ
12 οι^{κ} απογρ∫ δημ∫ βιβ^{λ}, πε̣^{δ} 13 Lμη 19 αυρηλι° 22 Lνη 23 Lϵ″ 25 ευcεβῡ 27 ε̣χλημ∫,

ii

. . . . .

→ ... ἤδ]η π̣[ρὸc τὸ ἐνεcτὸc
ϵ (ἔτοc) ἐτῶ]ν̣ π̣ε̣ν̣[τήκο]ν̣τ̣α̣ [ὀκτὼ
καὶ] ἔχων κα̣τ̣ὰ̣ τ̣ὰ̣ δοκιμ[αcθέντα
ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀξιολογωτάτου [Π]ε̣τ̣[ρω-
νιανοῦ τὴν τῶν τρεφομ[έ]νων̣
ἡλ[ι]κίαν δηλῶ ἐμαυτὸν ἀνα-
γράφεcθαι ἐπ᾽ ἀμφόδου Δρόμου
Γυμν(αcίου) καὶ ἐπικ̣ε̣κρίcθαι τῇ πρὸς τὸ
κδ (ἔτοc) θεοῦ Ceουήρου Ἀντωνίνου
κατ᾽ οἰκ(ίαν) ἀπογρ(αφῇ) ἐπ᾽ ἀμφόδου τοῦ αὐ-
τοῦ (ἐτῶν) μη, ἧc ἐπικρίcεωc τὸ
ἀνῆκον μέροc ἐγλαβὼν ἐκ τῆc
ἐπὶ τόπων δημοcίας βιβλιοθ(ήκηc)
ὑπέταξα καὶ ἀξιῶ ἐν[τ]αγῆναί
με ἐν τοῖc μέλλουc̣ι τρ̣έ̣φ̣[εcθαι

καὶ ὀμ]νύω τὴν Μάρκου Α[ὐρηλίου
Cεουήρου Ἀλε]ξάν̣δρ̣ο̣υ̣ Καί[caρoc
τοῦ] κ̣υ̣ρ̣ί̣ο̣[υ τ]ύ̣χ̣ην εἶ̣ν̣α̣[ί με τῶν
προκειμένων (ἐτῶν) νη, μηδὲν
δὲ διεψεῦcθαι. (ἔτους) ϵ″
Αὐτοκράτορος Καίcαρος
Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Cεουήρου
Ἀλεξάνδρου Εὐcεβοῦc Εὐτυχοῦc
Cεβαστοῦ, Χοιάκ.
ἔγλ(ημψις) ἐκ δημ(οcίας) βιβλ(ιοθήκης) ἐκ πεδ(ιακοῦ) ἐπικ(ρίcεως)
τῆc πρὸc τὸ κδ (ἔτοc) θεοῦ Cεουήρου
Ἀντωνίν̣ο̣υ κατ' οἰκ(ίαν) ἀπογρ(αφῆc)
ἀμ]φόδ(ου) Δρ[όμ(ου)] Γ̣υ̣μ̣(νacίου) τ̣άξ̣εωc

. . . . .

8 γυμνʃ 9 κδʃ 10 οικ απογρʃ 11 Lμη 13 βιβλιοθ 19 Lνη 20 Lϵ″
25 ϵγλ, δημʃ βιβλ, πϵδ ϵπικ 26 κδʃ 27 οικ απογρʃ 28 αμ]φοδ δρ[ομ?] χυμ?

'. . . glorious. Whereas I am now in the present fifth year fifty-eight years old and have attained the age of persons who are maintained at public expense, according to the measures approved by the most estimable Petronianus, I certify that I am listed in the Gymnasium Street quarter and that I was scrutinized in the house-by-house census for the 24th year of the deified Severus Antoninus in the same quarter at the age of 48 years. The relevant section of this scrutiny I have extracted from the local public record office and subjoined and I request that I be enrolled among those who are to be maintained at public expense. And I swear by the *genius* of Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Caesar, the lord, that I am of the aforesaid age of 58 years and that I have made no false declaration. Year 5 of Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, Choeac.'

'Extract from the public record office, from the terrier of scrutiny for the house-by-house census of the 24th year of the deified Severus Antoninus, Gymnasium Street quarter, department . . .'

3 λαμπ]ρᾶc. Part of the description of Oxyrhynchus, see **3100** 4–6 and n., **3101** 7–8.

7 *Πετρωνιανοῦ*. Cf. **3102** 9–12 n.

τὴν τῶν τρεφομένων ἡλικίαν. This confirms the conclusion reached from P. Ryl. IV 599 and PSI XII 1240 that age was an important criterion for admission, see *Archiv* 12 (1937) 183. The minimum age is still unknown. Those attested are 58 (**3099**), 53 (**3100**), 63 (**3101**), 68 (P. Ryl. IV 599), 53? (PSI XII 1240). The last is calculated for the year given in the edition; if, instead of year 1, year 5 ought to be read, see below, the age would be 57. This range of ages may be sufficiently well explained by the organization envisaged by Turner, pp. 181–2, that is, a fixed number of places to which new members could be elected or co-opted or appointed by lot. This seems a very likely scheme. See the provisions for the constitution of a gerusia of one hundred and one members at Cyrene, where the minimum age was fifty (SB VIII 10075. 20–5). We may compare, perhaps, the procedure for the enrolment of citizens in the corn dole registers, see vol. XL, Introd. pp. 2–3.

A possible alternative explanation of the range of ages might be envisaged, that is, that these documents all date from near the founding of the institution, in which case everyone of the requisite status above the minimum age would be likely to apply. Three of the four new documents come from 5 Severus Alexander (A.D. 225/6), and the fourth must be close to them (**3102** 1 n.). P. Ryl. IV 599 is from 6 Sev. Alex. (A.D. 226/7). PSI XII 1240 is said to come from 1 Sev. Alex. (A.D. 222), but the year

number is dotted as uncertain in both copies, and *epsilon* is a possible alternative to *alpha*, though it cannot be confirmed.

All four of our new documents refer to official pronouncements, which might possibly, though they need not necessarily, be interpreted as the regulations of a new foundation.

A further argument favouring the theory of a new institution might be drawn from the references in PSI XII 1240 to *τῶν προσγεινομέν[ων διακοσί]ων [γε]ρόντων* (a 29–30), and *τῶν διακοσίων γ[ερόν]των* or *π[ροσγινομέ]νων* (b 30–1). Turner rightly emphasized the difficulty of understanding *προσγινόμενοι* (op. cit. 185) and suggested the 200 were 'additional' members. If the gerusia is a new institution, however, into which 200 members were to be enrolled, the sense is clear. The applicant asks to be enrolled in the company of 'the 200 elders who are in course of being admitted (to the gerusia)'. Note that the number at Cyrene (in the late fourth century B.C.) was only 101 (SB VIII 10075. 20).

10–15 *ἐπικεκρίσθαι τῇ . . . κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφῇ . . . ἧς ἐπικρίσεως.* This is a particularly clear instance of the use of *ἐπικρίνειν* and *ἐπίκρισις* in the general sense of 'scrutinize' and 'scrutiny' without reference to the more familiar technical process for determining the status of citizens newly come of age; cf. P. Mertens, *Les Services*, 99.

27 *πε̣δ̣(ιακοῦ) ἐ̣[πικρ(ίσεως).* See Wilcken, *Archiv* 12 (1937) 86–7.

col. ii 28 *τάξεως.* Cf. **3100** 22 n.

3100. Application to Join the Gerusia

37 4B.103/F(2)a 10 × 26 cm. 23 December A.D. 225

This document is complete at the foot and contains extracts from the records of two censuses, those of A.D. 201/2 and A.D. 215/16. This applicant was more meticulous about his documentation that the previous one, who cited only the latest census, but much less meticulous than the applicant in PSI XII 1240, who appended extracts from four census records, all those in which his name could have appeared.

The back is blank.

. . . . .

→ .....]..[

.....].[....]..[

παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Θ]έ̣ωνος Διδ[ύμου τοῦ

Κτήσωνος μητρὸ]ς̣ Caραεῦτ̣[ος ἀπ' Ὀ-

5 *ξυρύγχων] πόλεως τῆς ..[...]ης̣*

καὶ λαμπρᾶς.] γεγονὼς ἤδη πρὸς

τ]ὸ̣ ἐ̣ν̣[εστὸ]ς̣ ε (ἔτος) (ἐτῶν) νγ̣ δηλ(ῶ) ἐμαυτὸν ἀ-

ν]α̣γεγ̣[ρ]ά̣φθ̣αι ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Δεκά-

τ]ης, ὧν ἐπικρίσεως τὸ ἀνῆκον μέ-

10 *ρος] ἐκλαβὼν ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ τόπων δη-*

μοσ]ίᾳ̣[ς] βιβλιοθήκης ἐπιδίδωμι

τὸ ὑπό]μ̣νημα πρὸς τὸ κἀμὲ ἐ̣ν-

ταγῆ]ναι ἐν τοῖς προσγεινομέ-

νοις] ἐ̣ν τῇ διανομῇ ἀκολούθως

15 το]ῖς περὶ τούτου γραφεῖσει. (ἔτους) ε
Α]ὐ̣τοκράτ[ο]ρος Καίσαρος Μάρκου
Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου
Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ, Χοιὰκ
κζ̅. ἔστι δέ.
20 ἔκ̣λ̣ημψις ἐκ δημοσίας βιβλιοθή-
κ̣ης ἐκ πε̣διακοῦ ἐπικρίσεως
τῆς μὲν πρὸς τὸ ι (ἔτος) τάξεως στρα-
τηγοῦ πρώτου τόμου κολ(λήματος) η̅, Θέων
Διδύμου τοῦ Κτήσωνος μητρὸς
25 Σαραεῦτος Νείλου ἄτεχνος ἄ-
σημος (ἐτῶν) κθ ἐ(πικριθεὶς?) (ἐτῶν) κθ ἄσημος, τῆς
δ]ὲ πρὸς τὸ κδ (ἔτος) τάξεως βασιλικοῦ
ᾱ τόμ(ου) κολ(λήματος) ε̅ Θέων Διδύμου
τοῦ Κτήσωνος μητρὸς Σαραεῦτος
30 Ν̣είλου (ἐτῶν) μγ̅ (vac.) · ἐ(πικριθεὶς?) (vac.) (ἐτῶν) μγ̅
(m. 2) Α̣ὐ̣ρ̣ή̣λιος Θέων Διδύ̣μ̣ου ἐπιδέδωκα.
(vac.)
(m. 3) ... Πτ]ο̣λεμαί̣ου φίλου ν...[.].
.....].μ̣ο̣ν

7 εϛ Lνγ δη^λ 15 Lε 21 ε̣ corr. from αι 22 ιϛ 23 κδ̀ 26 Lκ^θ ε' Lκθ 27 κδϛ
28 το^μ κδ̀ 30 Lμγ̅ · ε' Lμγ̅

'... from Aurelius Theon, son of Didymus, grandson of Cteson, mother Saraeus, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, the great (?) and glorious. Whereas I am now in the present fifth year fifty-three years old, I certify that I have been listed in the Tenth quarter. The relevant section of the scrutiny of these facts (?) I have extracted from the local public record office and I submit the application so that I too may be enrolled among persons being admitted in the allocation (of places in the gerusia?), in accordance with the written orders on this subject. Year 5 of Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus. Choeac 27. Viz:

'Extract from the public record office from the terrier of scrutiny, firstly, from the strategus's department for the tenth year, first roll, eighth sheet: "Theon, son of Didymus, grandson of Cteson, mother Saraeus, daughter of Nilus, with no trade and no distinguishing features, aged 29, passed the scrutiny, aged 29, with no distinguishing features"; secondly, from the royal scribe's department for the twenty-fourth year, first roll, fifth sheet: "Theon, son of Didymus, grandson of Cteson, mother Saraeus, daughter of Nilus, aged 43, passed the scrutiny, aged 43."'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Theon, son of Didymus, submitted (the application).'

(3rd hand) '... Ptolemaeus ...'

5 ..[...]ης. Cf. **3101** 8, where].ης is certain. This title for Oxyrhynchus is new, however it should be read, cf. *ZPE* 12 (1973) 277–92. Here μ̣ε̣[γάλ]ης, in **3101** 8 μεγά]λ̣ης, would suit the traces.

7 νγ̣. The doubtful reading is confirmed by calculation. The applicant was 43 in A.D. 215/16 (27–30), and therefore 53 in A.D. 225/6.

9 ὧν ἐπικρίσεως. The reading is clear, but the translation is a puzzle. In **3099** and **3101** we read

ἧς ἐπικρίσεως, referring back to ἐπικεκρίσθαι. But in these only one extract from the records is appended. I have offered in the translation 'the relevant section of the scrutiny of these facts (?)', taking ὧν to refer to his age and his registration in the Tenth quarter, but I suspect that it alludes in some ungrammatical way to the two extracts from the records which he appends.

13–14 προσγεινομέ[14][νοις] ἐν. Space will not allow [-νοις c (= διακοσίοις)] cf. PSI XII 1240 a 29–30, b 30–1 (quoted in **3099** 7 n.).

διανομῇ. At first sight it seems obvious that this word has here one of its primary senses, 'dole', 'largess'. For διανομαί in gerusias of other cities see J. H. Oliver, *The Sacred Gerusia* (Hesperia Suppl. vi) 3. 223, 225–6, 227, 240, 244, 268, 314, 346, 533, 537; 6. 4[1]; 12. 18 (all from Ephesus); 24. 31 (Athens). This could fit in extremely well with the application to be maintained at the public expense. Doubts are raised by the following considerations. It seems likely that all these applications are addressed to an official one of whose titles was ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν στεμμάτων τῆς γερουσίας (**3101** 3, **3102** 2–3, see n.). In two tax lists we find an entry for διανομ(ῆς) στεμμάτων, viz. P. Col. V 1a. 38; BGU IX 1894. 121. Further, for the sense 'those who are being admitted to the dole' we should expect the wording to be τοῖς προσγινομένοις τῇ διανομῇ, instead of which we find τοῖς προσγινομένοις ἐν τῇ διανομῇ. Following the note in P. Col. V, pp. 55–6 I am inclined to take διανομή in the sense of 'organization, administration' and to translate 'to be enrolled among those who are being admitted during the organization (of the records of entitlement?, cf. **3102** 2–4 n.)'. However, this remains a point which requires clarification from new evidence.

22–3 τάξεως στρατηγοῦ. Cf. 27 τάξεως βασιλικοῦ (sc. γραμματέως). Census returns are known to have been submitted in several copies to different local officials, of whom these two are the most important (Hombert–Préaux, *Recensement*, 88–9). It is not clear why the applicant found it convenient to give a reference to the strategus's compilation for A.D. 201/2 but to the royal scribe's for A.D. 215/16.

32–3 The significance of this subscription is not clear. Since the hand is not the same as the ἐπιδέδωκα subscription, it seems that Theon subscribed for himself and that this is not, therefore, the signature of an agent.

3101. Application to Join the Gerusia

37 4B.103/F(1)b 10 × 14·5 cm. A.D. 225/6

The body of this fragment can be restored from **3099** and the prescript from **3102**. All that remains doubtful is the passage in lines 19–23, where the wording diverges from the parallels. The back is blank.

→ Αὐρηλίῳ Διδύμ]ῳ ἐξηγητεύ-
καντι ἐνάρχῳ πομ]π̣αγωγῷ καὶ
ἐπὶ τῶν στεμ]μ(άτων) τῆς γερουσίας
τῆς Ὀξυρυ]γχειτῶν πόλεως
5 παρὰ Αὐρ]ηλίου Δωρίωνος Ἀπί-

[1] The passage in Oliver no. 6 is of interest for the elucidation of the phrase μετέχειν τῶν τῆς γερουσίας τιμίων in P. Ryl. IV 599. 11–12, cf. *Archiv* 12 (1937) 185. It runs (9–14): καθιέρωσαν δὲ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ ἀργύριον ὅπως ἐκ τῆς προσόδου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν πρὸ τῶν τειμῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ λαμβάνωσι διανομήν, ὁμοίως καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ ὅπως λαμβάνωσιν ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ πρὸ τῶν τειμῶν αὐτῶν διανομήν. 'And they gave an endowment of money to the Council in order that from the yearly revenue the Councillors might receive a donation in the market place over and above their honors,—and likewise to the Gerusia in order that the Elders might receive a donation in the stadium over and above their honors.' It seems very likely that the Oxyrhynchite τίμια and the Ephesian τιμαί represent roughly the same things and that they were definite material advantages and not 'honours' in a less substantial sense. Compare too *Symb. Osl.* 17 (1937) 26–7.

ωνος τ]ο̣ῦ Ἀπίωνος μητρὸς
.....]c ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεω̣ς
τῆς ....].ης καὶ λαμπρᾶς. γεγονὼ-
ς ἤδη πρὸς] τὸ ἐνεστὸς ϵ (ἔτος) (ἐτῶν) ξγ
καὶ ἔχων] τὴν τῶν τρεφομέ-
νων ἡλι]κ̣ίαν δηλῶ ἐμαυτὸν
ἀναγράφ]ε̣σθαι ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) Κρη-
τικοῦ καὶ] ἐπικεκρίσθαι τῇ πρὸς
τὸ κδ (ἔτος) θεο]ῦ Cεουήρου Ἀντωνίν[ου
κατ' οἰκ(ίαν) ἀ]π̣ογρ(αφῇ) ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) τοῦ
αὐτοῦ (ἐτῶν) νγ,] ἧς ἐπικρίσεως τὸ
ἀνῆκον μέ]ρος ἐκλαβὼν ἐκ τῆς
ἐπὶ τόπων δημοσί(ας) βιβλ(ιοθήκης) ὑπέταξα
καὶ] ἀ̣ξ̣[ι]ῶ̣ κ̣[ατὰ τὰ δοκ]ι̣[μ]α̣σθέντα̣
ὑπὸ τῶν ἀξιολο]γωτάτων Θϵ-
..... καὶ Πϵτρ]ω̣νιανοῦ ἐντα-
γῆναι .....]....ι̣α̣κ̣α̣.[..]..[
.....]..[

3 cτϵμ]μ$ 9 ϵ$ L ξγ 12 αμφο^{δ} 15 α]π̣ογρ$, αμφο^{δ} 18 δημοcι$ βιβ^{λ}

'To Aurelius Didymus, former exegetes, pompagogus in office, and in charge of the stemmata of the gerusia of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, from Aurelius Dorion, son of Apion, grandson of Apion, mother . . ., from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, the great (?) and glorious. Whereas I am now in the present fifth year sixty-three years old and have attained the age of persons who are maintained at public expense, I certify that I am listed in the Cretan quarter and was scrutinized in the house-by-house census for the 24th year of the deified Severus Antoninus in the same quarter at the age of fifty-three years. The relevant section of this scrutiny I have extracted from the local public record office and subjoined and I ask in accordance with the measures approved by the most estimable The . . . and Petronianus to be enrolled . . .'

1–4 For the restorations and commentary see **3102** 1–4 nn.

8 ....].ης. Cf. **3100** 5 n.

16 νγ]. The figure is calculated from 9. If he was 63 in 5 Sev. Alex. = A.D. 225/6, he must have been 53 during the census of 24 Caracalla = A.D. 215/16.

19 In the early part of the line the dotted letters represent very faint traces, and in the later part the letters]α̣ς are very strangely formed, if correctly read, but this text is strongly supported by **3099** i 5–6, ii 4–5. It should also be said that in this hand the letters are awkwardly formed throughout.

20 Θϵ-. Cf. **3102** 12, where part of one more letter survives, probably ω or ο. Best is perhaps Θέωνος but other short names are not definitely excluded by the space.

21–2 ἐντα^{22}[γῆναι. This word is followed in **3099** i 17–18, ii 14–15 by με ἐν τοῖς μέλλουcι τρέφεcθαι, and in **3100** 13–14, in a different grammatical context, by ἐν τοῖς προcγεινομένοις ἐν τῇ διανομῇ. Neither of these expressions will do here. An alternative might be ἐν τῇ γϵ]ρουcίᾳ, which could perhaps satisfy the traces, but is not actually confirmable.

3102. Application to Join the Gerusia?

36 4B.100/B(3–5)c 10 × 10 cm. c. A.D. 225/6

This document breaks off before it becomes clear what the object of it was and it does not follow exactly the formula of the other applications to join the gerusia. However, it seems probable that the nature of it was the same, though it may have had a more complicated case to state.

→ Αὐρηλίῳ Διδύμῳ ἐξηγητ(εύσαντι) ἐνάρχῳ
πομπαγωγῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν στεμμ[ά-
των τῆς γερουσίας τῆς Ὀξυρυγχει-
τῶν πόλεως (vac.)
παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἄπει Ἰσιδώρου τοῦ
Σαραπίωνος μητρὸς Ἀλεξοῦτος
ἀπὸ Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως. ἐκ τῶν
προτ]εθέντων ὑπὸ σοῦ γραμμάτων
ἀκολο]ύθως οἷς ἐπέστειλ.ν τ..[.].
....]. Αὐρήλ(ιος) Πετρωνιανὸς [ὁ ἀ-
ξιολ]ογώτατος ἔναρχος αρ[
.....].[..].[...].[...].. του Θε.[
.....]..[

Back ↓ Ἄπις

1 εξηγητ 5 ϊσιδωρου 10 αυρηλ

'To Aurelius Didymus, former exegetes, pompagogus in office, and in charge of the stemmata of the gerusia of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, from Aurelius Apis, son of Isidorus, grandson of Sarapion, mother Alexous, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. As a result of a letter posted in public by you in accordance with the communications addressed (to the most excellent council?) by Aurelius Petronianus, the most estimable ar(chidicastes?) in office (and of his . . .?) The. . .'

Back. 'Apis'.

1 *Αὐρηλίῳ Διδύμῳ κτλ.* It is not impossible that this is the same person as Aur. Didymus alias Dioscurides in P. Ryl. IV 599, though there the titulature also is slightly different, i.e. *ἐξηγητεύσαντι βουλ(ευτῇ) διέποντι καὶ τὰ στέμματα τῆς Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως.* If so, perhaps he was in office for the year A.D. 225/6 as (*ἔναρχος πομπαγωγὸς καὶ*) *ἐπὶ τῶν στεμμάτων τῆς γερουσίας τῆς Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως*, but in the next year administered the office temporarily.

2 *πομπαγωγῷ.* The function of this official is still not known, though he evidently derives his title from some ceremonial procession, cf. Hesych. *πομφαγωγεῖ* (l. *πομπαγωγεῖ*)· *πομπὴν ἄγει.* Relevant to this is an item in an account recording the expenditure of one talent [*ὑπὲρ τῆς κα*]*τὰ τὴν ἐξηγητείαν πομπαγωγίας*, XVII **2127** 6. All the known pompagogi are former exegetae, see also BGU XI 2118. 4–5; XXXVI **2768** 4–5, SB VI 9161. 2, PSI V 457. 1 (with BL iv 88). In the last two instances the current pompagogus, acting with an ex-gymnasiarch, supervises the epicrisis of young citizens.

2–4 *ἐπὶ τῶν στεμμάτων τῆς γερουσίας τῆς 'Οξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως.* Usually we find simply *ἐπὶ τῶν στεμμάτων*: XXXVI **2768** (Oxyrhynchus), XVII **2130** (Antinoopolis?), *CIG* 4705 (Antinoopolis), SB I 592 (Alexandria). In P. Fay. 87. 9–10 we find *τῷ ἐπὶ τῶν στεμμάτων προκεχι(ρισμένῳ)* (Alexandria), in P. Ryl. II 77. 28, 31 *οἱ διέποντες τὴν τῶν στεμμάτων διοίκησιν* (Hermopolis), in P. Ryl. IV 599. 3 *διέποντι καὶ τὰ στέμματα τῆς 'Οξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως.* Cf. also the tax called *διανομ(ῆς) στεμμάτων*, P. Col. V 1a 38, BGU IX 1894. 21, on which see **3100** 13–14 n.

The meaning of *στέμματα* is still in doubt. Wilcken, *Gdz.* 143 n. 6, suggested tentatively that they were 'Abteilungen der Epheben'. They have been thought to be crowns, either of office or of victory in the games, P. Ryl. II 77. 31 n., XII **1413** 4 n. Turner, following Wilcken, suggested that *c.* referred to divisions of the gymnasial classes, see *Archiv* 12 (1937) 185 n. 2, P. Ryl. IV 599. 3 n., rejecting the suggestion of A. J. Boyé (*Studi Bonfante* iv 184 n. 5) that it means genealogical trees (cf. *Cod. Th.* 12. 1. 89 pr.). In view of the important part which inherited social status played in obtaining membership of the gerusia, see *Archiv* 12 (1937) 184–5, and indeed in all matters of privilege, e.g. membership of *οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου* (see P. Mertens, *Les Services*, 117 seqq.) and eligibility for the corn dole (P. Oxy. XL, Introd. pp. 2–3, 8), it is Boyé's theory that recommends itself to me.

The addition of the words *τῆς γερουσίας* here raises the question whether there were two officials in charge of stemmata, one for the gerusia only, the other for the whole city or the rest of the city. Since both **3102** and P. Ryl. IV 599, where the title is *διέπων τὰ στέμματα τῆς 'Οξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως*, relate to the gerusia, it seems unlikely that two offices are to be distinguished in these cases. This poses the further question whether his sphere of influence was confined to the gerusia or extended to the whole city. For the moment I am inclined to suppose that *τῆς γερουσίας* here and in **3101** 3 is gratuitously added by the petitioners because of their own preoccupation and that the *ἐπὶ τῶν στεμμάτων* was concerned in all matters of inherited privilege, but the opposite view could be argued very strongly and this too remains a matter to be settled by new evidence.

5 *Ἄπει.* The form looks like a substitution of the dative case for the genitive, but it is in fact a genuine short form of the genitive often found in Egyptian names, see O. Oslo, p. 49. Other examples are III **530** 14 *τοῦ Ἄπει*, P. Gen. 77. 2 *διὰ Ἄπει*, XVII **2156** 17 *διὰ Ἄπι*, BGU IX 1900. 68 *Ἀφροδείσιος Ἄπει.* Dr. Frank Gignac has kindly supplied me with the following additional examples of short genitives in other names: *Πόσει* (P. Mich. VI 392. 5), *Πόσι* (P. Mich. VI 392. 13, XVII **2110** 24), *Ταπεῆσι* (P. Mich. VIII 495. 34), *Τεῶ* (O. Tait II 2369 A). Dr. Coles adds *Σάει* (SPP X 299 recto 4). See *Class. Phil.* 33 (1938) 427 on *Φάσει* as genitive of *Φάσις*, and *ZPE* 9 (1972) 228 (P. Mich. inv. 4060. 2 n.) on *Ἁρφαῆσι* as genitive of *Ἁρφαῆσις.*

9–12 The traces would be consistent with *τ̣ῇ̣ κ̣[ρ]ʃ*—i.e. *κ̣[ρ](ατίστῃ)—βουλ]ῇ̣*. No other solution suggests itself, but obviously this one must remain uncertain for the moment.

Before that *ἐπέστειλα̣ν* and *ἐπέστειλεν* are both possible. The doubtful letter is undamaged and at first sight looks more like *alpha*. This and the wording of **3101** 20–1 *τῶν ἀξιολο]γωτάτων Θέ/[ωνος (?) καὶ Πετρ]ωνιανοῦ* recommend the sentence pattern *ἐπέστειλα̣ν . . . Πετρωνιανός . . . καί . . . Θέῳ[ν (?)*, but the letters *-του* before *Θε*. [in line 12 suggest that *ἐπέστειλεν . . . Πετρωνιανός . . . διά . . . Θέῳ[νος (?)* is an alternative. With *ἐπέστειλαν* we might envisage something like *καὶ ὁ διάδοχος αὐτοῦ*, with *ἐπέστειλεν* something like *διὰ τοῦ ἀξιολογωτάτου.* Both of these actual wordings are excluded by the traces and I have not found any thoroughly suitable one.

The title of Petronianus cannot be restored for certain. *ἀρ[χιδικαστής* is suggested by PSI IX 1052. 16 *ὁ ἀξιολογώτατος ἀ.*, and XXXIV **2705** 3 *ὁ ἀξι̣ο̣λ̣ο̣γ̣ώ̣τατος ἔναρχος ἀ.* There is a known archidicastes called Petronianus, roughly dated to *c.* A.D. 225, see XXXIV **2705**, **2706**, and therefore worth consideration, but his *nomen* is Calpurnius not Aurelius. There is a possibility that the same man is intended, that is, the *nomen* here may be a simple error, or he may have had two *nomina*, cf. the strategus Aurelius Calpurnius Isidorus, XXXVIII **2876** 14–16 n., and perhaps also the prefects Baebius Aurelius Juncinus and Aurelius Septimius Heracleitus.

The name of the associate of Petronianus must be fairly short, from **3101** 21, but besides Theon other common names are not excluded, e.g. Theodorus, Theogenes.

3103. Declaration of Inheritance

40 5B.111/J(4–5)a 11 × 19·5 cm. 26 April–25 May A.D. 226

Through a male representative three women report to the strategus that they are the heirs of a freedman, whose estate is worth 800 drachmas. Very similar documents are P. Ryl. II 109 and P. Amh. II 72, which are thought to be particularly connected with the collection of the *vicesima hereditatium*, see H. Kreller, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen* 105–6, R. Taubenschlag, *Law*[2], 215 with n. 11. The part played here by the *procurator usiacus* seems to confirm this; compare X **1274** and VIII **1114**. A papyrus in Vienna, P. Vind. G. 13010 recto, which is now being prepared for publication, shows that the report in VIII **1114** was addressed to an idiologus called Geminius Valerianus. The idiologus was the head of the department in which the *procurator usiacus* served, see O. Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamte*[2], 355–8. In the introduction to X **1274** Grenfell and Hunt suggested that Valerianus might have been a *procurator usiacus* rather than a *proc. vicesimae hereditatium* as originally thought, and this is now seen to be very close to the truth.

The papyrus is blank on the back.

→ Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀντύλλῳ στρατηγῷ Ὀξυρυγχ(ίτου)
παρὰ Αὐρηλία{ι}ς Σαραπιάδος τῆς καὶ Ἡρακλεί-
ας καὶ Αὐρηλίας Τσεντούρβωνος καὶ Αὐρη-
λίας Τσενοσείρεως διὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἡρακλειανοῦ.
5 ἀπογραφόμεθα κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα ὑπὸ Αὐ-
ρηλίου Τερψιλάου τοῦ γενομένου ἐπιτρόπου
τῶ[ν ο]ὐσιακῶν ἡμᾶς ἐνγεγράφθαι κλη-
ρονόμους κατὰ διαθήκην Αὐρηλίου Μώ-
ρου ἀπελευθερικοῦ καὶ ἄξια εἶναι τὰ κα-
10 ταλειφθέντα ὑπ' αὐτ[ο]ῦ δραχμῶν ὀκτα-
κοσίων καὶ ὀμνύ̣ομεν τὴν Μάρκου
Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου Καίσαρος
τοῦ κυρίου τύχην μ[ὴ] ἐψεῦσθαι. (ἔτους) ε
Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου
15 Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου Εὐσεβοῦς
Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ, Παχών.

(m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλιανὸς ἐπιδέδωκα
καὶ ὤμοσα τὸ̣ν [ὅρ]κον.

1 οξυρυγχ- 5 ὑπο 10 ὑπαυτ[ο]υ 13 Lε

'To Aurelius Antyllus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelia Sarapias alias Heracleia and Aurelia Tsenturbon and Aurelia Tsenosiris, through Aurelius Heraclianus. We register that in accordance with orders issued by Aurelius Terpsilaus, former *procurator usiacus*, we have been inscribed as heirs according to the will of Aurelius Morus, freedman, and that the property left by him is worth eight hundred drachmas and we swear by the *genius* of Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Caesar, the lord, that we have made no false declaration. Year 5 of Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, Pachon. (2nd hand) I, Aurelius Heraclianus, have submitted (the report) and I swore the oath.'

1 The name of the strategus, appearing whole for the first time, shows that we ought to read Ἀν[τύλ]λῳ, instead of Αι.[....]λῳ, in XXXI 2566 ii 1 and restore the same name in col. i 1. The reading has been confirmed from the original and makes the date suggested for that document certain. This information has been used already in XLII 3032 8 n., and cf. **3104** 2 n.

5–6 Aurelius Terpsilaus is known from **3092** to have been in office as *procurator usiacus* in A.D. 217 and at that time he also acted as deputy dioecetes. Since there is no hint here that the registration has been delayed, we may probably conclude that he was not long out of office in Pachon A.D. 226. If so, an interesting picture is conjured up of a term of office lasting from the reign of Caracalla into that of Severus Alexander, unbroken by the rises and falls of Macrinus and Elagabalus. However, we know too little about the duration of procuratorial functions to decide whether this picture is an unlikely one or not, see O. Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamte*², 445–6, H.-G. Pflaum, *Les Procurateurs équestres*, 246, 302.

7 ἐνγεγράφθαι. The exact meaning is not clear. There may possibly be an allusion to the Latin term *heres scriptus* = 'heir specified by will', but the wording ἐνγεγράφθαι κατὰ διαθήκην Αὐρ. Μώρου seems to indicate rather that their names and status as heirs had been entered in the records of the *procurator usiacus*, cf. X **1274** 10, where however the word used is ἀπογράψασθαι. Very likely ἐγγράφειν is used here to avoid repetition of this verb, already in line 5.

9–11 Compare J. F. Gilliam, 'The Minimum Subject to the *vicesima hereditatium*', *AJP* 73 (1952) 402 ff. However, it is not absolutely certain that this small estate was subject to the tax, because declarations were made even of exempt estates, cf. VIII **1114** 15.

3104. Notification of Death

26 3B.48/D(3–4)a 8×27 cm. 24 June A.D. 228

This is not the usual type of registration of death made chiefly for the correction of the tax records, but comes to the strategus from the doorkeepers of the treasury office in the city, one of whose charges has died. This office incorporated a prison, see 8 n., of which the 'doorkeepers' were apparently the warders.

The dead man was a tax-farmer, one of a number committed to prison by order of the strategus just over eight weeks before the day of his death, which is the date of this notification. It is just possible that his imprisonment was a punishment for a fiscal offence, cf. R. Taubenschlag, 'L'Emprisonnement dans le droit gréco-romain', *Op. Min.* ii 715, but Mr. Parsons persuades me that the treasury office is not a suitable place to serve a prison sentence and that he was more probably in custody awaiting trial, cf. P. Beatty Panop. 1. 228.

The strategus, whose name is only partly legible, is new, as is the tax concession leased by the dead man, the τεσσαρακοστὴ ἐρεῶν.

The back is blank.

→ Αὐρηλίῳ Δη.....νει τῷ
καὶ Δει..[
[παρὰ] Αὐρ[ηλίω]ν Δει[ου τοῦ καὶ
.[....] χρηματίζ[ο]ντ̣ο̣[ς
μητρὸς Τετεύριος καὶ Διοσκό-
ρου Πτολεμαίου τοῦ καὶ Διονυ-
σίου Ἀρχιστρατείου τοῦ καὶ Ἀλ-
θαιέως προσθυραίων λογι-
στηρίου Ὀξυρυγχείτου. εἷς
τῶν παραδοθέντων ἡμῖν
τελωνῶν ὑπὸ τῶν δ̣ε̣ς-
μοφυλάκων ἐξ ἐνκελεύ-
σεώς σου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῇ
τρίτῃ τοῦ Παχὼν μηνός, Αὐ-
ρήλιον Ἐπίνεικον τὸν καὶ
Πετοσορᾶπιν, μισθωτὴν
τεσσαρακοστῆς ἐρεῶν, νο-
σήσας ἔνδον ἐτελεύτησεν
σήμερον ἥτις ἐστὶν τρια-
κὰς τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς Παῦ-
νι. διὸ ἐπιδίδομεν τὸ βι-
βλείδιον φανερὸν ποιοῦν-
τες αὐτὸ τοῦτο πρὸς τὸ εἰδέ-
ναι μή πως ὕστερον ἐπιζ̣[η-
τηθῇ. (ἔτους) ζ Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου Εὐσεβοῦς
Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ, Παῦνι λ.
(m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Δεῖος ἐπιδέδω[κα.
Αὐρήλιος Θέων Θέωνο̣[ς
ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ ε̣ἰ̣δ̣[ό-
τ̣ος γράμματα. (m. 3) Αὐρήλιο[ς
Δ̣ι̣όσκορος ἐπιδ[έ]δ̣ω̣κ̣α.[

14–16 l. *Αὐρήλιος Ἐπίνικος ὁ καὶ Πετοσορᾶπις, μισθωτής*

'To Aurelius De . . . es, alias Dei . . ., strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Deius alias

. . ., officially known by the name of his mother Tetcyris and from Aurelius Dioscorus son of Ptolemaeus alias Dionysius, of the Archistratean tribe and Althaean deme, doorkeepers of the treasury office of the Oxyrhynchite nome. One of the tax-farmers delivered to us by the police guards by order of you the strategus on the third of the month of Pachon, Aurelius Epinicus alias Petosorapis, lessee of the 2½ per cent tax on woollen goods, was taken ill and died inside today, which is the 30th of the current month of Payni. Therefore we submit the report making this same fact clear, for information, in case of any inquiry in future. Year 7 of Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, Payni 30th.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Deius, submitted (the report). I, Aurelius Theon, son of Theon, wrote on his behalf because he does not know letters. (3rd hand) I, Aurelius Dioscorus, submitted (the report).'

1 *Δη.....γει*. Suitable names from Pape, *Wb. d. gr. Eigennamen*, are Demogenes, Democrines, Demosthenes, Demophanes. Of these only Demosthenes appears in *NB* and Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, but the traces are too scanty to confirm it here. A less likely possibility is an itacistic spelling of the dative ending, e.g. *Δημαρίωνει* for *-νι*, *vel sim.*

2 *Δει..[*. Most likely is *Δείῳ ς[τρ(ατηγῷ) Ὀξ(υρυγχίτου)*. It is unlikely to be an itacistic spelling of a name like Dioscorus (see 5) or Dionysius (6). The text shows that the addressee is a new strategus (13). His last known predecessor is Aurelius Antyllus (April/May A.D. 226, **3103** 1 and n., cf. XLII **3032** 8 n.), and his next known successor is Aurelius Leonides (12 September A.D. 229, XX **2273** 1).

3–4 *Δεί[ου τοῦ καὶ κτλ*. See 29 for the name. Since he has no legal patronymic (4–5), the space must have held an alias.

8 *προσθυραίων*. There is only one example of *προσθυραῖος* (SPP III 84. 1, of the 6th century), and there is one of *προσθυρεύς* (P. Harris 65. 8 (with BL iii 77), of A.D. 342). In P. Iand. III 37. 4 (5/6th century) the spelling *προσθυρεος* may represent *προσθυρέως*, as the editor thought, or it may represent *προσθυραῖος*, because even though the nominative would be grammatically wrong in this place, this is a type of error that is well attested, S. G. Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen*, 78–9. I owe this reference to Professor Turner.

It is hardly possible to decide if *-αίων* stands here for its phonetic equivalent *-έων*.

λογιστηρίου. For this office as the location of a prison see R. Taubenschlag, *Op. Min.* ii 715 n. 23, citing P. Tebt. II 420. 26, *κατάκλειστος . . . ἐν τῷ λογιστηρίῳ* (3rd century A.D., not B.C.), P. Amh. II 80. 4, *[ἐν τῷ?]. . . λογιστηρίῳ κατακλισθείς* (A.D. 232/3). Cf. P. Beatty Panop. 1. 228 n., *ZPE* 10 (1973) 134 l. 8.

11 *δεσμοφυλάκων*. Cf. F. Oertel, *Liturgie*, 270–1, N. Lewis, *Inventory of Compulsory Services*, s.v.

14 *τρίτῃ . . . Παχών*: 28 April A.D. 228.

17 The *τεσσαρακοστὴ ἐρεῶν* is unknown; cf. *εἰκοστὴ ἐρεῶν* P. Hibeh I 115. 2 (*c.* 250 B.C.), perhaps P. Ryl. II 70. 20 (2nd century B.C.).

3105. Rescript of Severus; Application to a Strategus

27 3B.40/K(1)b 12 × 19·5 cm. *c.* A.D. 229–35

The text of this rescript of A.D. 200, which has appeared before in XII **1405**, can be improved from the new copy, though it remains incomplete. It concerns *cessio bonorum* for the purpose of avoiding public service and is followed by a document addressed to the strategus more complete than the parallel in **1405**. The applicant refuses to undertake a public service and states his intention of giving up his duties and his property to the official who nominated him or whatever substitute may be found. He asks for a copy of the document to be served on the official by one of the assistants of the strategus.

The back is blank.

. . . . .

→ ....] παρ[ϵ]χώρησας [....]..........[
ἐς]τιν μὴ τῷ ταμείῳ ἡμῶν τὴν [παρα]χώ-
ρησιν γενέσθαι ἀλλὰ τῷ εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν ελ.[
.[.].. σε ⟨ὃς ἀναλαβών σου⟩ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα τὸ τείμημά σου
5 τὸ] πολειτικὸν παρέξει καὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν
ἀποπληρώσει. τὸ γὰ[ρ] ταμεῖον ἡμῶν τῶν
τ[οι]ούτων παραχωρήσεων οὐκ ἐφίεται. ἡ δὲ
ἐπ[ι]τειμία σοι ἐκ τούτου οὐδὲν βλαβήσε[ται
οὐδὲ εἰς τὸ σῶμα ὑβρισθήσει. προετέθη ἐν Ἀ-
10 λεξανδρείᾳ η (ἔτους) Μεχείρ.
Ἀὐρηλίῳ Λεωνίδῃ στρ(ατηγῷ) Ὀξυρυγχείτου
πα]ρὰ Αὐρηλίου Θώνιος Πτολεμαίου μητρὸς
..... ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆ]ς πόλεως. ἐπεὶ Αὐρή-
λιος Ἡλιόδωρος ἀμφοδο]γραμματεὺς δι' ἧς
15 ἐπέδωκεν γραφῆς λειτο]υργῶν τῷ ἰσιόντι
.. (ἔτει) ..... τῇ δι]ελθούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀνέ-
δωκέν με εἰς πρακτορείαν σειτικῶν Θμοι-
σεφ]ὼ τοπαρχίας Θώλθεως κατοίκων
κα]τὰ τὸ παντελὲς μὴ δυνάμ[ϵ]ν[ο]ν ἀντέχειν
20 τῆς] χρείας, ἐξίσταμαι ὧ⟨ν⟩ ἐὰν εὑρίσκῃ μου
καὶ ἀξιῶ ἐ]πιδιδούς σοι περὶ τούτου τάδε
τὰ βιβλείδια ὡς προέταξα τὴ[ν] θείαν
διάταξιν ἐπιστεῖλαι δι' ἑνὸς τῶν περὶ σὲ
ὑπηρετῶν τὸ ἴσον τῷ Αὐρηλίῳ Ἡλιοδώρῳ
25 ἵνα κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀναδόσεως κίνδυνον
ἀκολούθως τοῖς ἀναντι⟨ρ⟩ρήτοις διηγορευ-
μένοις ἐπιγνῷ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τῆς χρείας ἀντι-
λήμψασθαι δ]ι[ὰ τῶ]ν ἡμετέρων ἃ ἐὰν σχῇ με-
..... (ἔτους) ..] Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
30 Μάρκου Αὐρηλίο]υ Σευήρ[ο]υ [Ἀλεξάνδρο]υ

. . . . .

8 σοι: l. σου 9 ϋβρισθησει 10 ηʃ 11 στρʃ 15 l. εἰσιόντι 22 ὧς: l. οἷς 24 ἴσον 25 ἵνα 27 ὑπερ

'. . . you ceded (your property); it is clear that the cession was not made to our treasury but to the person who nominated you to the office, who, having taken possession of your property, will provide

your fine due to the city (?) and fulfil the duties of the office; for our treasury does not desire such cessions. Your citizenship, however, will in no way be injured thereby, nor will you be subjected to corporal punishment. Published at Alexandria in the eighth year, Mecheir.'

'To Aurelius Leonides, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Thonis son of Ptolemaeus, mother . . ., from the same city. Whereas Aurelius Heliodorus, scribe of the quarter, in the list of public servants which he submitted for the coming *n*th year, nominated me, (as I discovered?) yesterday, to be exactor of grain taxes of the Thmoesepho toparchy, for the catoeci of Tholthis, though I am completely unable to satisfy the demands of the service, I waive my rights in whatever property of mine he may find, and I ask, having submitted to you concerning this matter this petition to which I have prefaced the imperial order, that you give orders to deliver the duplicate by the hand of one of your assistants to Aurelius Heliodorus, so that in accordance with the risk incurred by nomination and in conformity with the unopposable pronouncements he may recognize that he is to undertake the service on my behalf using whatever property of mine he may get. Year . . . of Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander . . .'

1 It must be possible to see some more of *εὔδηλόν* 2 [*ἐc*]*τιν*, certain from XII **1405**, but it is difficult to assign these meagre traces to the correct letters. Probably we should redistribute the letters in **1405** 1 as *παρεχώρ*[*ηcαc*] 2 [8–9 letters] instead of *παρεχώρ*[*η*]/[*cαc* .....]. Between *παρεχώρηcαc* and *εὔδηλον* there must have been about ten letters.

3 *ἑλ*ǫ/*μ*[*έ*]*γ*ᾳ seems likeliest, though the traces both of *o* and *ω* are not wholly satisfactory. *ἕλ*/*κ*[*o*]*γτι* is even less conformable to the traces. It may be that *ἑλομένου* was written in error.

4 *cε* is not in **1405**, from which the three inserted words are restored.

τὸ τείμημά cου / [*τὸ*] *πολειτικόν*. The reading of **1405** 6–7 *τǫ̣̀ λǫι*[*πὸν τοῦ* . .]*πǫ*[. . .]*ι*/*τικǫ*[*ῦ*], is now to be corrected to *τǫ̣̀ τει*[*μημά cου*] *τǫ̣̀* [*πολ*(*ε*?)]*ι*/*τικό*[*ν*]. This reading is consonant with the traces and spacing of the papyrus, now BM Papyrus 2447, which I have inspected. There appears not to be room for *εἰc* (*τὸ πολιτικόν*) in either of the copies, nor has *τὸ πολιτικόν* yet appeared in the papyri in the sense of *ὁ πολιτικὸc λόγοc* or *τὰ πολιτικὰ* (*χρήματα*). The expression *τὸ τίμημα τὸ πολιτικόν* is new to the best of my belief. It may refer to a 'penalty due to the city' for non-fulfilment of public duty and this is how it is treated in the translation. For *τίμημα* in the sense of a financial penalty prescribed in the laws for a particular offence see P. Hal. 1. 31, 61, 116, 119, and notes. This appears to be the basis of elliptical expressions like *τῷ ἑαυτῆc τιμήματι* (IX **1208** 4) and *ἰδίῳ τιμήματι* (e.g. I **85** ii 7, iv 8, PSI III 202. 8, 31 (see notes for controversy), PSI XII 1232. 6, XXXI **2570** ii 15, iii 5) meaning 'under personal liability to the financial penalty for misconduct'. The comparison of IX **1208** 3–4, *ὁμολογεῖ . . . ἐκμαρτυρεῖcθαι τῷ ἑαυτῆc τιμήματι* with P. Hal. 1. 24 seqq., mentioning the *τίμημα* for *ψευδομαρτύριον*, is particularly illuminating. See also *Atti del XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Milano, 1965), 533–7.

Another meaning of *τίμημα* is the minimum property qualification required of candidates for any particular liturgy. For example the qualification for a village scribe was at one period 3,000 drachmas, see P. Petaus 10. 18 n., cf. 11. 33. If the meaning of it here is 'property qualification', *παρέξει* might signify 'will hold in readiness' rather than 'will hand over', but it is possible that the two meanings were virtually equivalent, that is, that the value of the property qualification was forfeit if the person appointed did not discharge his duty satisfactorily.

10 *Μεχείρ*: January/February A.D. 200. It is strange that the other copy is assigned to Pharmuthi (March/April). However, it may be that the same response was delivered in more than one case. Compare P. Oxy. inv. 12 1B.134/G(c), cited in E. G. Turner, *The Papyrologist at Work* (*GRBS* monograph 6; 1973), 44–5, and Pl. 7, where the prefect's *subscriptio* in 120 cases was the same. But that was a short formula, *ὁ πόροc πραθήτω*. Or it may be simply that this response remained on public view for more than a month, cf. *CÉ* 30 (1955) 334–5, and that our two texts derive from different copies of it. See now also *JRS* 64 (1974) 99–100, cf. 103.

11 *Λεωνίδῃ*. See XXVII **2473** 1 n., Pap. Lugd. Bat. xiv, p. 26, no. 281. His earliest date is 11 September A.D. 229 (**2473**). The present petition is to be dated after 12 June A.D. 228, when his closest known predecessor was in office (**3104** 2 n.) and before the news of Severus Alexander's death in early A.D. 235 reached Egypt, see 30.

14 *ἀμφοδο*]*γραμματεύc*. Cf. P. Mertens, *Les Services*, 7–16, esp. p. 9 for his competence in this type of village liturgy. Aurelius Heliodorus (cf. 24) is not known as a district scribe, but since the office was annual his name may in future prove useful to fix the exact year of this document.

16 Possible year numbers are 9 to 14. The odds therefore are in favour of a two-digit number. So also in 29.

Restore perhaps *ὥcπερ ἔμαθον*, cf. XII **1405** 17 *τῇ ἐνεστώcῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἔμαθον κτλ.*

24 The use of the article with personal names that have already been mentioned or are familiar is common in the *Koine* (Mayser, *Grammatik* ii. 2 §§ 54–5), but I cannot recollect seeing it combined with *Αὐρήλιοc* elsewhere. Possibly we ought to suspect a haplography and emend to *τῷ αὐ⟨τῷ Αὐ⟩ρηλίῳ Ἡλιοδώρῳ*.

25 *τὸν τῆc ἀναδόcεωc κίνδυνον*. See U. Wollentin, *Ὁ Κίνδυνοc in den Papyri*, 98–103.

28 *με[*. Restore part of *μεταδιδόναι*, either *με[ταδοῦναι* or *με[ταδοθῆναι*; cf. BGU II 614. 4 *ἀξιῶ ἐπιcτεῖλαί cε ἐνὶ τῶν περὶ cὲ ὑπηρετῶν ὅπωc μεταδοθῇ . . .*

3106. Letter of Severus Alexander

A $13^{A}/7(a)1$ — 15 × 13 cm. — Third century

This fragment comes from a second Oxyrhynchite copy of Severus Alexander's letter to the Greek *κοινόν* of Bithynia, known from *Dig.* 49. 1. 25 and from a longer version on papyrus, XVII **2104**, with BL ii ii p. 104 (a reprint), iii p. 141. It supplies one small but convincing correction (2) and three more words of the final sentence, which is missing from the *Digest* text.

The remains are from the foot of a column with about 3 cm. of the bottom margin. Lines 6–11 are virtually complete, the beginnings close to the break of the left-hand edge, with 2·5 to 3 cm. of margin to the right. There must have been a succeeding column, quite short if the text was the same length as **2104**. There may also have been a preceding one, depending on the height of the original piece of papyrus. The hand is a good large official cursive. On the back there are the damaged remains of a single line, so far illegible, written across the fibres in a small cursive.

. . . . .

→ .....]..[

..... *ἀπαγορε]ύω κα[ὶ τοῖc*

ἐπιτρόποιc καὶ τοῖc] ἡγουμ[ένοιc

τῶν ἐθνῶν, καὶ πει]cθήc[ονται

5 *ταύ]τῃ μου τῇ προρ⟨ρ⟩ήcει, [*

ε]ἰδότεc ὅτι τοcοῦτόν μοι μέ-

λει τῆc τῶν ἀρχομ[έ]νων ἐλευ-

θερίαc ὅcον καὶ τῆc εὐνοίαc

αὐτῶν καὶ πειθοῦc. τοὺc μέν-

10 *τοι ἐκ κεφαλικῆc δίκηc κολαcθέν-*

τα]c εἶτα ἐφέντα[c, εἰ] μὴ προcδε-

1 The traces are feet, too small to be identifiable.

2 *ἀπαγορε]ύω κα[ί*: *ἀπαγορεύομεν Dig.* The singular forms elsewhere (*οὐχ ὁρῶ, πρός με, ταύτῃ μου τῇ προρρήσει, μοι μέλει, πρὸς ἐμέ*) indicate that the new reading is to be preferred to the *pluralis maiestatis*. **2104** 11 is broken just at this point, *ἀπαγορευ[*.

5 *προρῃσει*: *προρρήσει* **2104** 13, *Dig.*

10 *κολασθέν/[τα]ς ε̣ἶ̣τ̣α ἐφέντ̣α̣[ς*. The sentence omitted from the *Digest* text now runs, after supplementing **2104** from here:

15 *τοὺς μέντοι ἐκ κεφαλικῆς δίκ[ης κολασθέντας ε̣ἶ̣τ̣α ἐφέντας, εἰ μὴ προσδεχθείη αὐτῶν [*
..εισα διασφα[λ]ίσασθ[α]ι μὴ δυνηθε̣ι̣[
.ικης πρὸς ἐμὲ δεῖν ἀποσταλῆν̣[αι

It seems that certain people who appeal against conviction on capital charges are ordered to be brought before the emperor himself, but unless a precise technical meaning can be discovered for *διασφαλίσασθαι* no attempt at a restoration is likely to be successful. There is a trace of the top left-hand part of the first letter of line 18, which need not be a *delta* ([δ]*ίκης* **2104**).

The subscription of **2104** should be corrected to read *ἀνελήμφθη ὑπομνήμα̣[σι* . . . (19) for *ἀ. ὑπὸ Ἀννει̣α̣ν̣[οῦ* and *Μεσορὴ ιη*⁻ (21) instead of *Μεσορὴ η*.

3107. Receipt for Dyke- and Other Taxes

A 19B.2/2(e)1 — 7×15·5 cm. — A.D. 238

This text was published in *ZPE* 9 (1972) 4–7, Tafel Ib. It is important because it gives the latest known date by the titles of Maximinus, 7 April A.D. 238, and the earliest by the titles of Gordians I and II, 13 June A.D. 238. The translation and the line-by-line commentary are reprinted here, but for the significance of the data for the chronology of A.D. 238 the reader is referred to the *editio princeps*.

The back is blank.

→] *Ἡρῴου*
(ἔτους) δ] Γ̣α̣ΐ̣[ων] Ἰουλίων Οὐήρων Μ̣α̣[ξιμίνου
καὶ Μα]ξίμ[ου υἱ]οῦ Γερμανικῶν Μεγίς̣[των Δακι-
κ]ῶ̣[ν Με]γίστων̣ [Ϲ]α̣ρμ̣ατικῶν Μεγίστων [Καισά-
5 *ρων] τῶν κυρίω̣ν̣, Τῦβι ι′. διέγρ(αψαν) πρ(άκτορσιν) [ἀργ(υρικῶν) μητρο(πόλεως)*
ἀμ]φ(όδου) Ἡρῴ̣ο̣υ̣ Ἐπάγαθος καὶ Θῶνις κ[αὶ Ϲαραπάμ-
μων κ]α̣ὶ Ἀ̣χ̣ιλλεύς, δο(ῦλοι) οἱ δ⁻, χωμ(ατικοῦ) γ (ἔτους) .[
....].ʼ.′ τοῦ ἐνεστ(ὼτος) δ (ἔτους) (δραχμὰς) τριάκοντα δύο, (γίνονται) [(δραχμαὶ) λβ.
] (vac.) *Αὐρήλ(ιος) Εὐσεβ( ) σ[εση(μείωμαι).*
10 *καὶ] τ̣ῇ ιβ τοῦ Φαρμο(ῦθι) μη(νὸς) οἱ α(ὐτοὶ) λ̣α̣[ογρ(αφίας)*
...]ἀ̣ργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) εἴκοσι, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) κ. ὁ α(ὐτὸς) σεσ̣η(μείωμαι).[
(vac.)
(vac.)

(ἔτους) α Μάρκο]υ̣ Ἀ̣ντωνίου Γορδιανο[ῦ Ῥωμανοῦ
Cεμπρωνι]α̣νοῦ Ἀφρικανοῦ καὶ Μ[άρκου
Ἀντ]ω̣νίου [Γ]ο̣ρ̣δ̣ι̣α̣νοῦ Ῥωμανοῦ Cε̣[μπρωνιανοῦ
Ἀφρι]κ̣ανοῦ Καιc̣ά̣ρ̣ω̣ν̣ τῶν κυ[ρίων,
Π]αῦν̣[ι] ιθ'. διέγρ(αψαν) πρ(άκτορcιν) ἀργ(υρικῶν) μητρο(πόλεωc) ἀ[μφ(όδου) Ἡρῴου

Ἐπάγαθοc καὶ Θῶνιc καὶ Cαραπάμμ̣[ων καὶ
Ἀχι]λ̣λ̣εύc, οἱ δ⁻ δοῦλ(οι), λαογρ(αφίαc), ὑικ(ῆc), ν.[
τοῦ αὐτ]ο̣ῦ̣ α (ἔτουc) ἀρ̣γ(υρίου) (δραχμὰc) τριάκοντα ἑπ[τά,
(γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) λζ]'.. Αὐρήλ(ιοc) Εὐcεβ( ) cεcη(μείωμαι).

5 διεγρ∫ πρ∫ 7 δō, χωμ∫ γ∫ 8 ενεcτ δ∫∫, /[9 αυρηλ ευcεβ 10 φαρμō μη̄, ā
11 α̣ρ̣γ∫, /∫, ā cεc̣η̄ 16 διεγρ∫ πρ∫ αρχ̣∫ μητρο' 18 δουλ λαογρ∫ υικ 19 α∫ αργ∫
20 αυρηλ ευcεβ cεcη̄

'Heroum quarter. Year four of C. Julius Verus Maximinus and C. Julius Verus Maximus, his son, Germanici Maximi, Dacici Maximi, Sarmatici Maximi, Caesares, the lords, Tybi 10. There (were) paid to the collectors of money taxes of the metropolis for the Heroum quarter (by) Epagathus and Thonis and Sarapammon and Achilles, slaves the four of them, for dyke-tax of the third year . . . (and another tax) of the present fourth year, thirty-two drachmas; total 32 dr. I, Aurelius Euseb( ), have signed.'

'And on the twelfth of the month of Pharmuthi the same persons (sc. paid) for poll-tax . . . twenty drachmas; total 20 dr. I, the same person, have signed.'

'Year one of M. Antonius Gordianus Romanus Sempronianus Africanus and M. Antonius Gordianus Romanus Sempronianus Africanus, Caesares, the lords, Payni 19th. There (were) paid to the collectors of money taxes of the metropolis for the Heroum quarter (by) Epagathus and Thonis and Sarapammon and Achilles, the four of them slaves, for poll-tax, pig-tax, naubion (?) . . ., of the same first year, . . . thirty-seven drachmas; total 37 dr. I, Aurelius Euseb( ), have signed.'

1]Ἡρῴου. As a heading this could be enough by itself, but it may have been preceded by something else.

2 (ἔτουc) δ]. Cf. 8.

3 Μα]ξίμ[ου υἱ]οῦ. There is no other example of these emperors' titles in this exact form. For the restoration here compare the forms with καὶ υἱὸc Μάξιμοc or καὶ Μάξιμοc . . . υἱὸc τοῦ Cεβαcτοῦ, P. Bureth, *Les Titulatures*, 111–12, and υἱόν in the titles of Gordian II in *IGR* iii 791.

5 Τῦβι ι'. 5 January A.D. 238.

9 Εὐcεβ( ). At this date Εὐcεβ(ήc) is more likely than Εὐcέβ(ιοc), see *NB*, and Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, s.vv.

10 καὶ] τ̣ῇ ιβ τοῦ Φαρμο(ῦθι) μη(νόc). 7 April A.D. 238. In receipts of this cumulative type titles are not given after the first date except where there is a change of reign, see e.g. *Recherches de papyrologie* iii 53–6, 62–3. On this day therefore no news can yet have been received in Oxyrhynchus that Maximinus had been deposed. We can deduce that in Rome about thirty or more days before he was still accepted as emperor.

12–15 It seems from the layout of these lines that in Egypt both the elder Gordians bore the titles Romanus Sempronianus Africanus and this is also the sequence that must have appeared in P. Yale inv. 156 (*AJP* 51 (1930) 62–6), instead of Romanus Sempronianus for Gordian I and Sempronianus Africanus for Gordian II, as it appears from the *editio princeps*. This emerges from counting the number of letters in lines 1–3 and can best be illustrated by printing the published wording (A) and the suggested version (B) in *scriptura continua*.

A	ρωμ[αν]ουcεμπρωνια[νου	19 letters
	καιμαρκουαντωνιουγορδι[ανου	26 letters
	cεμπρωνιανουαφρικανουευ̣ç̣βων	28 letters
B	ρωμ[αν]ουcεμπρωνια[νουαφρικανου	28 letters
	καιμαρκουαντωνιουγορδι[ανουρωμανου	33 letters
	cεμπρωνιανουαφρικανουευ̣ç̣βων	28 letters

A photograph kindly supplied by the Librarian of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Yale University confirms that this is physically the best possibility.

In the inscriptions the order of these titles is Sempronianus Romanus Africanus for both father and son (*IGR* iii 791, *Festschr. O. Hirschfeld* (1903), 169 seq., *AÉ* 1971 No. 475, and probably *CIL* viii 12521 = *ILS* i 493). Roman coins have Afr(icanus) only (*RIC* iv 2). Alexandrian coins have Cεμ(πρωνιανὸc) Ἀφ(ρικανόc) only (Vogt, *Die alex. Münzen* i 190). Coins of Prymnessus and Aegae have Cεμ(πρωνιανὸc) Ῥωμ(ανὸc) Ἀφρι(κανός), like the inscriptions (*Zeitschr. f. Numismatik* 7 (1880) 139–40).

16 Π]αῦν̣[ι]ιθ′. 13 June A.D. 238, seven days earlier than P. Yale inv. 156 (*AJP* 51 (1930) 62–6). We can deduce that in Rome about thirty or more days before the Gordians were still believed to be ruling.

18 λαογρ(αφίας). On this tax see the literature cited in *ZPE* 6 (1970) 85.

ν.[. Perhaps νᾳ[υβίου; see S. L. Wallace, *Taxation*, 59–61.

3108. Application for *bonorum possessio*

31 4B.10/D(1–3)b 9×8 cm. *c.* A.D. 240

We discover here the *praenomen* and *nomen* of the prefect of Egypt L. Lucretius Annianus. It is unfortunate that the date is lost, since the evidence we have for his term is only approximate. In a record of legal proceedings published as M. *Chrest.* 93 (= P. Strasb. 41+P. Lips. 32) it is stated that the plaintiff petitioned Annianus, who delegated the case to the epistrategus Claudius Cleogenes (P. Strasb. 41. 17 seqq.). Later in the text a document is quoted which is dated 23 April A.D. 241, and describes itself as arising out of an order of Cleogenes (P. Lips. 32. 9–11). Therefore Annianus appears to have been in office before that date and not too far from it. Now that Domitius Philippus, who was in office from before 1 January A.D. 241, till some time in A.D. 242, is known to have been a *dux* and not a prefect (*Proceedings of the XIIth International Congress of Papyrology*, 427–9), it may even be wondered whether Annianus continued in office alongside him, though the *dux*'s activities might reasonably be taken to indicate that he took over completely from the prefect (ibid. 393–4).

It is possible that the prefect was related to the senatorial ... us L. f. Fab. Annianus who was legate of a legion in about A.D. 242–4, see G. Alföldy, 'Die Legionslegaten d. röm. Rheinarmeen' (*Bonner Jahrbücher*, Beiheft 22, Epigraphische Studien 3), 61–4, but I see nothing to be made of the possibility on the present evidence.

It may be useful to repeat here that in XVII **2104** 19 ἀνελήμφθη ὑπὸ Ἀννειαν̣[οῦ ... should be corrected to ἀνελήμφθη ὑπομνήμα̣[ci; see **3106** 10 n.

The *agnitio bonorum possessionis* is summarily described by R. Taubenschlag, *Law*², 216–17, cf. also R. Katzoff in *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 37 (1969) 416–26. Close

parallels to this document are PSI X 1101 and SB VI 9298, both of them described in a heading as copies and entirely in Greek. Others with Latin and Greek texts are SB I 1010 (related to SB 9298) and IX **1201**.

The back of the document is blank.

→ ἀντίγρ(αφον) ταβέλλης διᾳκ̣α̣[τοχῆς.
Λουκίῳ Λουκρητίῳ Ἀννιανῷ [ἐπάρχῳ
Α̣ἰ̣γύ̣πτου
παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἰσιδώρου τοῦ κα̣ὶ̣ Π̣ί̣ω̣νος
5 Σαραπίωνος τοῦ καὶ Λουκίου μητρὸς
Ἰσιδώρας ἀπὸ κώμ̣ης Ἰσίου Τρύφωνος
ν̣[ο]μ̣οῦ Ὀξ̣υρυγχείτου. ἐρωτῶ, κύριε,
δ̣[οῦ]ν̣αί μοι ὑπαρχόντων διακατο-
χὴν ἐκ μέρου[ς] ἡ̣μίσεως Αὐρηλίου
10 Σαραπίωνος τοῦ καὶ Λουκίου τοῦ
προγεγραμμένου πατρός μου
. . . . .

1 αντιγρ∫ 4 ϊσιδωρου 6 ϊσιου

'Copy of a tablet of (application for) possession of inheritance. To Lucius Lucretius Annianus, prefect of Egypt, from Aurelius Isidorus alias Pion (?), son of Sarapion alias Lucius, and of Isidora, from the village of Ision Tryphonis in the Oxyrhynchite nome. I beg (you), lord, to grant me possession, to the extent of a half share, of the goods of Aurelius Sarapion alias Lucius, my aforesaid father . . .'

4 κα̣ὶ̣ Π̣ί̣ω̣νος. Possibly the *kappa* is raised to indicate abbreviation and we should look for a possibility conforming to the pattern τοῦ κ(αὶ) .ι̣.ι̣ω̣νος. Εἰσίωνος (= Ἰσίωνος) is not possible.

3109. Undertaking on Oath

21 3B.25/D(3–4)a 15·5 × 19 cm. A.D. 253–6

This undertaking by villagers to convey ploughing oxen to wherever they might be required in Syria shows that Valerian's campaigns in the East were supported by supplies from Egypt. Similar arrangements are attested for the supply of Caracalla's Eastern expedition (W. *Chrest.* 245, **3091**).

The names of the prefect and epistrategus who gave their orders for the operation furnish useful prosopographical information. The prefect, Magnius Felix, is probably the same as Magnius Felix Crescentillianus, assigned hitherto to the reign of Severus and Caracalla (23 n.). This correction has been incorporated in the latest list (*BASP* 4 (1967) 110, 120). The name of the epistrategus, Antonius Vitellianus, is new in Egypt, but he may be the man mentioned in *ILS* 2768.

It is difficult to see any principle of organization in the grouping of these fourteen persons or their villages, except that there is one representative from each village The twelve legible village names come from all six toparchies of the nome, but are not grouped by toparchy. The number of animals is thirty-six.

The back is blank.

→ *c.* 12 letters]..ρῳ τῷ καὶ Κορινηλι[
c. 15 letters] Ἑρμογέν[ο]υς μη[τρὸς] Ἰσειτος
.....].[.].[...].[..]..απ..[....]..[...]. [κ]αὶ Διογένης
....]. μητρ[ὸς] ....διας ἀπ' Ὀξυρύ[γ]χων πόλεως καὶ
γεου]χῶν ἐν [κ]ώμῃ Σενέπτα, καὶ Διονῦς Ὥρου
μητρὸ[ς] ....το[.] ἀπὸ κώμης Μ[ε]ρμέρθων, καὶ Ὀννῶφρις
.....ου μητρὸς Ταύριος ἀπὸ κώμης Σενεκελεύ,
καὶ Ὧρος Πλουτίωνος μητρὸς Ταποντωοῦτος ἀπὸ κώμης
....ως, καὶ Πετσεῖρις Νείλου μητρὸς Ἡρᾶτος
ἀπὸ κώμης Θώσβεως, καὶ Ἀρθῶνις χρηματίζων
μητρὸς Κόπεως ἀπὸ κώμης Νεμερῶν, καὶ Ἑρμίας
ἀπελεύθερος Ὡρείωνος ἀπὸ Ἀθύχεως, καὶ Ἀμμωνᾶς
Διδύμου, Ἀλθαιεύς, γε[ο]υχῶν ἐν Τακόνα, καὶ Μέλας
Ἀμμωνίου μητρὸς Ἀμμωναρίου ἀπὸ Τήεως καὶ Ἀουιςᾶ-
νις Π.....ιος μητρὸς Ταμυρωτίωνος ἀπὸ Σερύφεως
καὶ Ὧρος Πλουτίωνος μητρὸς Μελανοῦτος ἀπὸ τοῦ
Ἰ[σί]ου Τρύφωνος, καὶ Θῶνις Ψεναμούνιος μητρὸς
Θόμτι ἤτοι Τανεμγέως ἀπὸ Σέσφθα καὶ Τίτος Σινγώνιος Ἄρριος
Ἀπολινάριος ὁ καὶ Φρόντων καὶ ὡς χρημ(ατίζει) γεουχῶν ἐν
Πέλα, οἱ πάντες ἀναδοθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἑκάστης κώ(μης)
κω(μαρ)χ(ῶν) εἰς τὸ παραλαβεῖν καὶ ἀποκατασταῆσαι ἐν Συρίᾳ
ὅπου ἐὰν κελευσθῇ βόας ἀρότιδας ἀκολούθως τοῖς γρ(αφεῖσι) ὑπὸ
τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόνος Μαγνίου Φήλικος καὶ Ἀντω-
νίου Οὐιτελλιανοῦ τοῦ κρατίστου ἐπιστρ(ατήγου), ὀμνύομεν τὴ(ν)
Οὐαλεριανοῦ καὶ Γαλλιηνοῦ Καισάρων τῶν κυρίων τύχη(ν)
παρειληφέναι βόας ἀριθμῷ $\overline{\lambda\varsigma}$ ἐπιλέκτους καὶ ἐπι-
τηδειοτάτας πρὸς ἄροσιν ἐσφραγισμένας τὰ πρῶτα
.....[.....]....[*c.* 12 letters]. καὶ ἐσχηκέναι ὑπὲρ

9 πετ'σειρις 14 αουϊσα 19 χρημς 20 κω̄ 21 κω^{x} 22 γρς 24 ουϊτελλιανου, επιστρς, τῃ̄ 25 τυχῃ̄

	c. 30 letters	] ϲυναγόμενον
30	*c.* 31 ,,	] καὶ ἀναλωμα-
	c. 32 ,,	]ạγομẹ̣ν̣ạ ...

. . . . .

'To . . . alias Corneli . . ., (strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome?). We . . . son of Hermogenes and Isis from . . ., and Diogenes son of . . . and . . . from the city of the Oxyrhynchi holding land in the village of Senepta, and Dionys son of Horus and . . . from the village of Mermertha, and Onnophris son of . . . and Taÿris from the village of Senekeleu, and Horus son of Plution and Tapontoous from the village of . . ., and Petsiris son of Nilus and Heras from the village of Thosbis, and Harthonis officially designated by the name of his mother Copis, from the village of Nemerae, and Hermias, freedman of Horion, from Athychis, and Ammonas son of Didymus, of the Althaean tribe, holding land in Takona, and Melas son of Ammonius and Ammonarion from Teis, and Avisanis(?) son of P . . . and Tamyrotion from Seryphis, and Horus son of Plution and Melanous from Ision Tryphonis, and Thonis son of Psenamunis and Thomti alias Tanemgeus from Sesphtha, and Titus Singonius Arrius Apolinarius alias Fronto and however he is officially designated, holding land in Pela, all nominated by the comarchs of each village to take charge of and deliver in Syria wherever it may be commanded ploughing oxen in conformity with the orders written by the most glorious prefect Magnius Felix and Antonius Vitellianus the most excellent epistrategus, swear by the genius of Valerian Caesar and Gallienus Caesar, the lords, that we have taken charge of oxen to the number of 36, selected and very serviceable for ploughing, branded . . . and that we have received on account of . . . totalled . . . and expenses . . .'

1]..ρ̣ῳ τῷ καὶ Κορνηλ̣ι̣[. This is likely, though not certain, to be the name of the strategus, see E. Seidl's list of liturgical oaths, *Der Eid* i 79–80. He is not in H. Henne, *Liste des stratèges*, or in Mussies's supplement (Pap. Lugd. Bat. xiv). Mr. Parsons points out to me that an Oxyrhynchite called Athenodorus alias Cornelius occurs in P. Harris 75. 6–7. Either]δ̣ώρ̣ῳ or]ώρ̣ῳ might be read here though they are not absolutely confirmable, and with the routine addition of Αὐρηλίῳ his name would fit. If he is to be recognized here he was not the strategus, since at this period the office was always held by a person not a native of the nome.

22 ἀρότιδας is a hitherto unknown but regularly formed feminine of ἀρότης, cf. Kühner–Blass, ii 271. It is also normal for cattle to be referred to collectively in the feminine, see LSJ s.v. βοῦς.

23 Μαγνίου Φήλικος. This is more likely to be the same as the Magnius Felix Crescentillianus of IX **1185** and **3110** than a man of the same name. The θειότατοι βασιλεῖς of **1185** will be Valerian and Gallienus as here, rather than Severus and Caracalla. His praenomen was given by **3110** 1 and appears to be Titus. His term of office must fall before that of Mussius Aemilianus, who was vice-prefect and prefect during the later part of the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus and in that of Macrinus and Quietus, see **3112** introd. Aemilianus was appointed vice-prefect before 29 Aug. A.D. 257 (P. Strasb. 392), but if we can rely on the oath formula, which has no mention of Valerian junior or Saloninus, the date can be further confined to the first three regnal years A.D. 253/4–255/6. This should be a cogent argument—all the documents claimed in P. Bureth, *Les Titulatures*, 118, as examples of the omission of a Caesar's name have Οὐαλεριανῶν not Οὐαλεριανοῦ (P. Lips. 83, P. Gen. 44 = M. *Chrest.* 215, P. Ryl. II 110)—but the formula here may be slightly suspicious because it is not paralleled in Bureth's list for the reign and it omits Σεβαστοί. For the formula, however, one can compare, along with others further from this date, P. Lond.III 1217a. 1, XVII **2123** 7, SB VI 7634. 46 (also an oath), all of which describe the Philips as (Μάρκοι Ἰούλιοι Φίλιπποι) Καίσαρες οἱ κύριοι without Σεβαστοί, which seems exactly parallel. Each of the two oath formulas in Bureth's list, XVIII **2186** and P. Giss. 3, has the name of the appropriate Caesar.

It now becomes possible that this man is the same Felix who was sent by Valerian to guard Byzantium during an attack by Goths (Zos. 36. 1). At present the possibility sheds no light on the chronology of the wars in the East.

23–4 Ἀντωνίου Οὐιτελλιανοῦ. A man of the same name, with the addition of the *praenomen* Marcus, is mentioned in *CIL* ix 334 = *ILS* 2768, ascribed to the third century. He is described as 'v(iro)

e(gregio) p(rae)p(osito) tractus Apuliae Calabriae Lucaniae Bruttior(um)' and the dedication is made to him 'ob . . . singularem industriam ad quietem regionis servandam'. H.-G. Pflaum classifies this as a centenarian post (*Les Carrières* iii 1041). If the man is the same it will be a stage later than the *epistrategia Heptanomiae*, which is a sexagenarian one.

27 ἐσφραγισμένας. It is perhaps more likely that this refers to a brand mark (cf. BGU I 87. 12, 27; P. Bas. 2 introd. p. 15) than to any process comparable with the placing of seals on the horns of sacrificial animals, for which see W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel*, i 84–5.

3110. Petition to a Prefect

A $9^{B}/3(a)$ 28·5 × 16; 12 × 8 cm. *c.* A.D. 253–7

Two largish fragments of this petition survive, one with part of the upper and the other with part of the lower margin, but since the size of the page was matched by the size of the fine 'Chancery style' handwriting, on which see G. Cavallo in *Aegyptus* 45 (1965) 216–49, not much of the text can be recovered. Its interest is simply that the prescript gave the *praenomen* of the prefect Magnius Felix Crescentillianus. Remains of it are now very faint, but seen through the microscope it can be read with a high degree of probability as *Τ̣ί̣τ̣ῳ̣ι̣*.

For the date of Magnius Felix see **3109** 23 n.

On the back there are extensive but very much broken remains of cursive and shorthand.

Fr. 1

→ *Τ̣ί̣τ̣ῳ̣ι̣ Μαγνίῳ̣ι Φήλικι Κ̣[ρηςκεντιλλιανῶι*
Α̣ὐ̣ρήλιος Ἀπολ[λ]ώ̣[νι]ος ὁ καὶ Σαραπόδωρος βουλευτὴ̣[ς
ἐπίτροπος τυγχάνῳ̣, λ̣α̣μπρότατε ἡγεμώ̣[ν], οὐσίας Α̣ὐ̣ρηλίω̣[ν
ἀ]φήλικος οὔσης περὶ τὸ̣ν̣ [Ὀ]ξυρυγχ[ίτην νομόν, ἥ]τις μετρεῖ μεν̣[
5 ...].[.]δα.....ε... καὶ ἀργυρικῶ̣[ν] ὑπὲρ τάλαντα εἴ̣κ̣[οσι
.]..... ειδε καὶ τῷ̣ πολειτικῷ̣ λόγῳ̣ τῆς λαμ̣π̣[
..].[.]..αμφ...δε[.]..[.]..α̣.[..].α̣..[
.....]φ.....[.....].....[

Fr. 2

→]..[...].[.....]κ̣α̣τατων..[
10]..ντ̣ο̣ βία̣ χειρῶν ταυ..δι̣...[
]. ἕκαστα τοῦ βίου Ἀνδρομαχ̣.[
].ν πεποίηται καὶ π..[

5 ὕπερ

2 Aurelius Apollonius alias Sarapodorus does not recur in the indexes to P. Oxy. or PSI.

3111. Freight Contract

21 3B.27/F(4–7)a 23 × 11·5 cm. 15 May A.D. 257

This and the next item give us glimpses of the activities of a new *corrector Aegypti*, called Ulpius Pasion, in the reign of Valerian and Gallienus. The dates of the two documents show him in office from May A.D. 257 to January A.D. 258.

Another *corrector* of this period, Claudius Theodorus, is known from four texts, Archiv iv 116 i 8, ii 4, PSI IX 1076 (with BL ii 145), SPP V 119 r. iv 24, and Pap. Lugd. Bat. XVII 7. The first gives him an approximate date—5th year, Mecheir 15. From comparison with imperial titles elsewhere in the papyrus this is interpreted, probably correctly, as 9 February A.D. 258. The text is a fragmentary record of proceedings in the council of Antinoopolis, quoting several documents, mostly about expenses incurred for the visit of Theodorus, but the quotation in which the date occurs does not mention Theodorus in what remains of it and therefore this date can only be an approximation. As far as this evidence goes Theodorus could be the predecessor rather than the successor of Pasion. However, the mention of Phamenoth 4 = 28 February in Pap. Lugd. Bat. XVII 7 is close enough to be plausibly assigned to the same year and if that is correct Pasion preceded Theodorus, who replaced him in January or February A.D. 258.

The function and status of these Egyptian *correctores*, which have been treated by Stein, *Aegyptus* 18 (1938) 234–43, and Roberts, P. Merton I, app. i, pp. 157–61, are still not absolutely clear. Here the troop movements in the south of Egypt suggest that Pasion was involved in some question of public order, cf. P. Wisc. I 3. 17–20. It has been thought that Theodorus might have been occupied with Valerian's measures against the Christians (E. Birley, *Gnomon* 23 (1951) 441), cf. **3112** introd. According to the HA, *Trig. Tyr.* 22. 6, the prefect Aemilianus, after he had been proclaimed emperor, had to deal with tribes of barbarians in the Thebaid and the whole of Egypt. Aemilianus was still prefect on 17 May A.D. 261 (XXXIV **2710**), so strictly speaking this activity against barbarians, if genuine, should date from later than that, but it still seems possible that the menace was felt earlier. An invasion of the Fayum by Libyans in A.D. 258 is mentioned in P. Princ. II 29 and may be relevant, see Stein, loc. cit. 242 n. 1. On the other hand, it is the judicial activities of Claudius Firmus and Aurelius Achilleus, the other known *correctores*, that are securely attested in the papyri, see P. Mert. I 26, P. Cair. Isid. 62.

A correction of IX **1201** casts a new light on the status of Mussius Aemilianus at this date and so slightly affects our view of the position of the *correctores*. The title of Aemilianus is given in the Greek as [διέποντ]ι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, corresponding in the Latin not to *v(iro) p(erfectissimo) praef(ecto) Aeg(ypti)*, as has been believed for so long, but to *v(ices) a(genti) praef(ecti) Aeg(ypti)*, see *CÉ* 44 (1969) 135. His promotion from vice-prefect to prefect is first attested in P. Ryl. II 110 of Phaophi (29 September–28 October) A.D. 259. As far as the present evidence goes, then, Aemilianus remained vice-prefect

while the *correctores* were in Egypt. The fact that Theodorus is named first in Pap. Lugd. Bat. XVII 7. 7–8 shows that his authority was higher than that of Aemilianus.

Likewise the building inscription dated by the emperor and the *corrector* Claudius Firmus (SB I 4426) shows that at that time—in the reign of Aurelian, see P. Mert. I 26—the *corrector* was the supreme authority in Egypt.

There was a prefect in Egypt when Aurelius Achilleus was *corrector*, see P. Mich. III 220. 20, 23, but his position is not certain. Achilleus was of the party of the usurper Domitius Domitianus and it is suspected that this unnamed prefect remained loyal to Diocletian, cf. C. Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des préfets*, 45. If so, they were of different hierarchies and cannot be satisfactorily compared.

The contract, between a shipmaster and inspectors of the military *annona*, provides for the transport of wine up the Nile from Oxyrhynchus to Hermopolis, cf. P. Beatty Panop. 2. 109–13 and n. The best parallel to the form is P. Lond. III 948 (p. 220) = P. M. Meyer, *Jur. Pap.* 43, compare also II **276**, P. Lond. II 256 (p. 99 = W. *Chrest.* 443), and the abstracts in P. Ross.-Georg. II 18 vi 24–34. Some of the conditions remain obscure because of extensive damage to the middle of the sheet.

The writing runs across the fibres though the other side of the papyrus is blank.

↓ *ἐν Ἀντινόου νέων Ἑλλήνων τῇ λαμπρᾷ πόλει. ἐναύλωσεν Αὐρήλιος Διονύσιος Διαδέλφου μητρὸς*

Θασηοῦτος ἀπὸ Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως κυβερνήτης πλοίου σκαφοπάκτωνος Διονυσ-

άμμωνος Ἀλεξαν-

δρέως λινοκαταγωγέως καὶ ὡς χρημ(ατίζει) Αὐρηλίοις Διοσκουρίδῃ τῷ καὶ Ἀπολ-

λωνίῳ καὶ Ἰούστῳ Ἀπολλω-

νίου ἀμφοτέροις ἀρχιερεῦσι βουλευταῖς καὶ τοῖς σὺν ὑμῖν ἐπιμ[ελ]ηταῖς οἴνου τῆς Ὀξυρυγχ(ιτῶν) πόλ(εως)' ἀννώνης παρεχομένης

5 *τας ἅμα Οὐλπίῳ Πασίωνι τῷ διασημοτάτῳ ἐπανορθωτῇ Αἰγύ[πτου] γενναιοτ⟨άτ⟩οις στρατιώταις λεγιῶνος*

β Τραιανῆς Ἰσχυρᾶς Οὐαλερι⟨αν⟩ῶν καὶ Γαλλιηνῆς κα[ὶ ἄλλ]οις [το]ῖ[ς σὺν] αὐτοῖς τὸν δηλούμενον σκαφοπάκτω-

να πρὸς ἐμβολὴν [οἶν]ου κεραμίων ὀκτακ[οσί]ων παρεχομένου τοῖς αὐτοῖς στρα-τ[ιώ]ταις ἀπὸ ὅρμου νομοῦ

Ὀξυρυγχείτου μέχρι ὅρμου Κλεοπάτρας τοῦ μεγάλου Ἑρμοπολείτου νομοῦ ἀκολούθω[ς τοῖς κ]ελευσθε[ῖσιν ὑπὸ

τοῦ διασημοτάτου Οὐλπίου Πασίωνος ναύλου τοῦ συμφ[ωνηθέντος c. 10 letters ὡς τῶν] ρ κεραμίων [ἀργυ-

2 οξυρυγ'χων 3 χρη$^{\mu}$, ϊουστω 4 ϋμιν, οξυρυγ$^{\chi}$ πο$^{\lambda}$ 5 l. τοῖς, γενναιοτοις, οι corr. ex αι? 6 τραϊανης ϊσχυρας

ρίου δραχμῶν ὀγ[δ]οήκοντα [.].[*c.* 40 letters ἑξα]κο-
σίων τεσσεράκ[ον-
τα ἅσπερ αὐτόθι ἠρίθμ[ηται *c.* 40 letters] τὴν ἐμ-
βολὴν ἐξη[ρ-
τισμένον πάσῃ ἐξαρτί[α ...].[.].[..]...[*c.* 40 letters].
[οὐ νυκτο-
πλοῦν οὐδὲ χ[ειμῶ]νος ὄντος ἀλλὰ προσορμίζω[ν *c.* 30 letters].
[....].φ[*c.* 15 letters
λαμβάνων [ὡς τῶ]ν ἑκατὸν κεραμίων οἴνου κερα[μ... καὶ] παρ[αδώσε]ι [τὸ]ν ο[ἶ]νον
σ[ῶο]ν καὶ ἀκακο[ύργητον καὶ λήμψεται
ὑπὲρ σπονδῆς οἴνου κεράμιον ἕν. ἡ ναυλωτικὴ κυρία καὶ ἐπερωτ[η]θ(εὶς) ὡμο-
λόγ(ησεν). (ἔτους) δ′ Αὐτοκρατόρων [Καισάρων Πουπλίου
Λικιννί[ου Οὐ]αλεριανοῦ καὶ Πουπλίου Λικιννίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ Γαλλιηνοῦ Γερ-
μανικῶν Μεγίστων Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχ[ῶν καὶ Πουπλίου
Λικιννί[ο]υ Κορνηλίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος Σεβαστῶν, Παχὼν
κ̄. (m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Διοσκ[ο]υρίδη[ς ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλώ-
νιος νεναύλωμαι καὶ ἐξωδίασα τὸ ναῦλον πλήρη ὡς πρόκειται. (m. 3) Αὐρήλιος
Ἰοῦστος ὁ προκείμεν[ος
συννεναύλωμαι ὡς πρόκειται.

15 ὑπερ, επερωτ[η]θ ωμολογ̄ Lδ′

'In the glorious city of Antinous of the new Hellenes. Aurelius Dionysius, son of Diadelphus, mother Thaseous, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, skipper of a boat described as a skaphopakton, belonging to Dionysammon, an Alexandrian, linen-transporter, and however he is known, hired out for transport purposes to Aurelius Dioscurides alias Apollonius and Aurelius Justus, son of Apollonius, both chief-priests, councillors, and to your associate wine-overseers of the city of the Oxyrhynchites for the *annona* being delivered to the most valiant soldiers of the *legio II Traiana Fortis Valerianorum et Galliena* accompanying Ulpius Pasion, the most perfect *corrector Aegypti*, and to the others with them, the above-mentioned skaphopakton for the embarkation of 800 keramia of wine being delivered to the same soldiers from the port of the Oxyrhynchite nome as far as the port of Cleopatra in the Great Hermopolite nome in accordance with the orders given by the most perfect Ulpius Pasion at the freight charge agreed (between us?) of 80 drachmas per 100 keramia . . . (a total) of 640 drachmas, which he has had counted out to him immediately . . . (and he will make the boat available) fitted with all its gear . . . not sailing by night or during a storm but dropping anchor (and weighing anchor every day in the most secure harbours?), receiving for every 100 keramia *n* keramia of wine, and he will deliver the wine safe and free from criminal interference and he will receive for a 'libation' 1 keramion of wine. The freight contract is valid and in answer to the formal question he gave his assent. Year 4 of the Imperatores Caesares Publius Licinius Valerianus and Publius Licinius Valerianus Gallienus Germanici Maximi Pii Felices and Publius Licinius Cornelius Valerianus nobilissimus Caesar, Augusti, Pachon 20. (Second hand) I, Aurelius Dioscurides alias Apollonius, have made the freight contract and paid over the charge in full as aforesaid. (Third hand) I, the aforesaid Aurelius Justus, have shared in the making of the freight contract as aforesaid.'

1 It is not clear why this contract among Oxyrhynchites was concluded in Antinoopolis. A possible explanation might be that the parties had just completed a delivery to Antinoopolis and, both sides being satisfied, they made haste to arrange another deal of the same kind.

2 *cκαφοπάκτωνοc*. Cf. XII 1554 7, the only other reference. On the type of boat called *πάκτων* see XXXI 2568 14 n.

3 *λινοκαταγωγέωc*. *Add. lexx.* It provides a certain amount of support forWilcken's restoration [*χοιρο*]-*καταγωγεύc* in BGU I 92. 27–8, see W. *Chrest.* 427 ; *καταγωγεύc* in LSJ should therefore be marked doubtful.

4 *ἀρχιερεῦcι*. Not apparently *ἀρχιερατεύcαcι* or an abbreviation, but there is a possibility of error, cf. mistakes in lines 5 and 6. For the chief-priest of Oxyrhynchus see XXXIV 2710 7 n., and in general see N. Lewis, *Inventory of Compulsory Services*, s.v. *ἀρχιερεύc*.

5 *Οὐλπίῳ Παcίωνι*. He is unknown except for 3112 4, 5. A homonymous Alexandrian of an earlier age may or may not be of the same family, see PSI XII 1225, of A.D. 155/6. In XXXI 2616, assigned to the third century, 500 jars are ordered to be delivered to the agents of an *ἀξιολογώτατος Παcίων*. This could fit well with the transport of wine here, but *ἀξιολογώτατος* is generally applied to local worthies and seems inappropriate to a *corrector*, cf. O. Hornickel, *Ehren- u. Rangprädikate*, s.v.

5–6 The military activity recorded in P. Wisc. I 3, roughly dated to this period by the name and title of the vice-prefect Aemilianus, may be the same or related. Lines 16–20 might be conjecturally restored as follows: *ἀλλὰ μετὰ ταῦτα, ὀνομα*[*cθεὶc δ*]*ιαδόcιν* (= *διαδώcειν*)
τοῖc γενναιοτάτοιc cτρα[*τιώταιc*] *τοῖc*
εἰc τὴν ἄνω [*A*]*ἴγυπτον* [*πεμφθεῖcι καὶ*
ἄλλοιc τοῖc μετὰ τού[*των ἐνθάδε*
20 *παραγενομένοιc κρ*[*έαc καὶ οἶνον vel sim.* e.g. *κρ*[*ιθὴν καὶ ἄχυρον*
καὶ ταύταc ἀπεπλήρωc[*α τὰc χρείαc,*
καὶ παρακαλῶ, ὡc ὁρᾶτ[*ε κτλ.*

'But after that, being nominated to distribute meat and wine to the most valiant soldiers sent to Upper Egypt and to the others going there with them I discharged these services also, and I beg you, as you see' etc.

6 *Οὐαλεριν*⟨*αν*⟩*ῶν καὶ Γαλλιηνῆc*. This description of the Egyptian legion is new. From the usual practice (cf. P. Heid. 244 note), and especially PSI V 465. 7–8 and XLI 2951 15, one might expect rather *Οὐαλεριανῆc καὶ Γαλλιηνῆc*. The object of the form *Οὐαλεριν*⟨*αν*⟩*ῶν*—*Οὐαλερίων*, as it is written, seems to be meaningless in this context—is clearly to do honour explicitly to the Caesar as well as the Augustus of the same name, see the date formula (15–17). However, *Γαλλιηνῆc* must still be an adjective; there can be only the remotest of possibilities that it is the genitive of a proper name, like *Οὐαλεριν*⟨*αν*⟩*ῶν*, and therefore parallel with the coins bearing the legend GALLIENAE AVGVSTAE, for which see M. Rosenbach, *Galliena Augusta*, 33, A. Alföldi, *Stud. z. Gesch. d. Weltkrise d. 3. Jahrh. n. Chr.*, 31–51. Cf. now *ZPE* 15 (1974) 183–91, citing (p. 190 n. 29) *classis* . . . *Filipporum* in *ILS* I 509.

9 With *cυμφωνηθέντοc* supply probably *μεταξὺ ἡμῶν* or *πρὸc ἀλλήλουc*.

10 Supply an expression to indicate a total, as the arithmetic shows, i.e. if the charge for 100 ker. is 80 dr., for 800 ker. it is 640 dr. It might have been something like *ὡc εἶναι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀργυρίου Cεβαcτῶν νομίcματοc δραχμῶν κτλ.*

11 Supply something like *καὶ παρέξεται τὸν δηλούμενον cκαφοπάκτωνα πρὸc*], cf. P. Lond. III (p. 220) 948. 12, for the sense.

12 A freight contract soon to be published has the clause *καὶ μὴ ἐξέcτω αὐτῷ νυγτοπλοεῖν μηδὲ χειμῶνοc ὄντοc ἀνορμίτω* (*sic*) *καθ' ἑκάcτην ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀcφαλεcτάτων ὅρμων* (34 4B.74/K(1–2)a lines 22–4). This appears to be garbled in the middle, but it helps to supply *νυκτο*]*πλοῦν οὐδὲ χ*[*ειμῶ*]*νοc ὄντοc*. Perhaps at the end of 13 we should supply *ἐπ*]*ὶ* [*τῶν ἀ*]*cφ*[*αλεcτάτων ὅρμων*, in which case the middle here had something longer than the parallel. One might suggest tentatively *προcορμίζω*[*ν καὶ ἀνορμίζων καθ' ἑκάcτην ἡμέραν ἐπ*]*ὶ* [*τῶν ἀ*]*cφ*[*αλεcτάτων ὅρμων*, 'dropping and weighing anchor every day in the most secure harbours'. [ADDENDUM. Yet another similar document (21 3B.25/G(2–4)a) has *προcορμίζων δὲ καθ' ἑκάcτην ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποδεδειγμένων καὶ ἀcφαλεcτάτων ὅρμων* (6–7). This, though rather long, might fit here, but it would not take account of the long descender for which I had suggested *ἐπ*]*ί*.]

15 On *cπονδαί* see *Symb. Oslo.* 17 (1937) 26 seqq.

18 *πλήρη*. Normal would be *πλῆρεc* or *πλήρηc* indeclinable, see W. Crönert, *Mem. Gr. Herc.*, 179 n. 2, but Crönert also cites (*ad fin.* p. 180) a few examples where *πλήρη* stands for other forms.

3112. Letter of a Vice-Prefect

A 3ᴬ B.4/2(a) 14×8·5 cm. 19 January A.D. 258

The *corrector Aegypti* mentioned in **3111**, Ulpius Pasion, appears for the second time in this letter of the vice-prefect Mussius Aemilianus.

Since the new reading of IX **1201** has made it certain that Aemilianus was promoted to prefect only after serving for some time as vice-prefect, cf. **3111** introd., it seems worth while to review here the documents which concern him and try to see what can be discovered about the dates of his appointments.

The earliest dated papyrus to mention him is P. Strasb. 392 of the fourth Egyptian year of Valerian and Gallienus, A.D. 256/7. His title does not survive there in full, but he is called *Αἰμιλιανοῦ τοῦ λα[μπροτάτου*. He cannot be prefect, since he was vice-prefect still on 24 September A.D. 258 (IX **1201**), but the epithet *λαμπρότατος* shows that he cannot be lower than vice-prefect, although there is reason to suppose that he would have been promoted to vice-prefect from a lower post in the Egyptian hierarchy. All the vice-prefects whose preceding post is known were, in fact, *iuridici*. We can look forward, then, to finding evidence of that earlier stage of Aemilianus' career and should be on our guard against assuming that every mention of him will come from the later stages. From P. Strasb. 392 we can deduce that he was appointed vice-prefect before 29 August A.D. 257.

The latest document in which he is described as vice-prefect is IX **1201** of 24 September A.D. 258. About a year later, in Phaophi (29 September–28 October) A.D. 259, which is his next securely dated appearance, he was prefect of Egypt (P. Ryl. II 110. 6–7). He remained prefect at least till 17 May A.D. 261 (XXXIV **2710**).

There are undated references to him as vice-prefect in Euseb. *HE* vii 11. 6, 9, 10, P. Strasb. 393, XII **1468**, P. Wisc. I 3, Pap. Lugd. Bat. XVII 7, the last very probably of 28 February A.D. 258.

In P. Eitrem 14 (= SB V 8945). 12 he appears simply as *Αἰ]μ̣ιλιανοῦ*, in XIV **1637** as *τοῦ λαμπροτάτου Μουσσίου Αἰμιλιανοῦ*. A more uncertain reference is XL **2938** 7]̣ο̣υ̣ *Αἰμιλια̣ν̣[οῦ*. For the rest of his career see H.-G. Pflaum, *Les Carrières* ii 925–7, no. 349.

Because of the loss of the ends of the lines the content of this letter remains very uncertain. For this reason the text is printed first without supplements. The restored version in 4–7 n. is highly conjectural. The placing of the detached fragment depends partly on the similarities of the fibres of the front, and on the back there are remains of the ends of lines of another document of uncertain type, which support the arrangement adopted, see 4–7 n.

The possibility must be mentioned that the man called Dionysius (6) may be the famous bishop of Alexandria. The account given by Eusebius of Valerian's persecution of the Christians in Egypt includes snippets from Dionysius' own version of his brushes with Aemilianus (*HE* vii 11) and even a passage purporting to be from the official

minutes of proceedings before the vice-prefect (ibid. § 6). This is an intriguing speculation which may appear less remote when one considers the troop movements that these affairs involve (**3111**, P. Wisc. I 3), and it has already been suggested that Theodorus, Pasion's immediate successor as *corrector Aegypti*, might have been sent to Egypt to take measures against the Christians (E. Birley, *Gnomon* 23 (1951) 441). However, Dionysius is an extremely common name and more evidence will be needed before the identification can be accepted. The *correctores* may have been concerned rather with the repulse of barbarian invasions, see **3111** introd.

fr 1

→ ἀντίγραφο[ν] ....[.....] (vac.)
Μούσσιος Ἀ[ἰ]μιλιανὸς δι[έπω]ν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν στρ[fr. 2
ἅπερ ἐντυχὼν ἐπὶ ὑπομνημάτων παρεπεπ̣[. . . . .
καιαναπεφηνεν τὴν παρουσίαν Πασιω[ ]..ουλ̣..[
5 φρόντισον οὖν ἐπεῖξαι τὸν Πασίωνα η[ ].τοναφ[
θησόμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὰ τῆς πρὸς τον̣[ ]̣νυσιον[
δανειη γνώριμα καὶ σοὶ καὶ τῷ Πασίων[ι].[
λωσεν προσέταξα ὑποταγῆναι. ἐρρῶσθ̣[αι . . . . .
(ἔτους) ϵ′ Τῦβι κδ⁻. [

3 ὑπομνηματων 6 ὑπερ 8 ὑποταγηναι 9 Lϵ′

1]....[. The traces might be fitted to] ἐπ̣ι̣ς[τολῆς, but they are too slight to confirm it.

2 στρ[. Probably στρ[(ατηγῷ) Ὀξ(υρυγχίτου) is the most likely, but this order may have been important enough to be copied outside the nome concerned. Both στρατηγῷ and the nome name are abbreviated as often as not, and in any case there is no clue here to the length of the other lines since the end of this one may well have been left blank.

3 For the phrase ἐντυγχάνειν ἐπὶ ὑ. cf. IX **1204** 9, and for the sense of ἐπὶ ὑ. see P. Beatty Panop. 1. 100–1 n.

παρεπεπ̣[. Instead of π̣[, τ̣.[is possible, in which case the second letter is a rounded one. No double compound of παρεπι- followed by π or τ seems to afford a useful meaning. The traces seem to exclude παρεπεγρ̣[α-, i.e. a form of παρεπιγράφειν. The pluperfect may have been used as the past tense of the epistolary past, see Mayser, II i p. 209.

4–7 The pattern of the horizontal fibres on the front suggests that the detached scrap should be placed so as to correspond with these lines. In 6 τὸν̣ [Διο]νύσιον, whether correct or not, leaps to the eye, and in 4 Πασίω[νο]ς τ̣οῦ λ̣α̣μ̣[προτάτου suits well. On the back this produces the following text:

↓].ν (vac.)
]ϵκνωνανομιμ̣.
].ϵκ....αρωτονο
]ολου[...]πραγματος
5]ϵχϵι..[..].προοκτωκα
]ωϋπα[...]. (vac.)
]...[....]ο̣υκϵντηπραξ[.]ι
]ατυνχανιν
].ωϋιωανα
10].οιϲι̣.θ̣α̣μ̣[.].
].δ...[

Parts of the top and bottom margins survive and there is a wide right-hand margin of *c.* 8 cm.

For the placing of the scrap this looks suitable. In 4 we may have] *ὅλου* [*τοῦ*] *πράγματος*, and in 5–6 we seem to have a date by Roman month and consuls on the pattern *πρὸ ὀκτὼ Κα*^{6}[*λανδῶν* (e.g. *Μαίων Τούσκῳ καὶ Βάσσ*)]*ῳ ὑπά*[*τοι*]*ς*, cf. e.g. IX **1201** 19–21. This permits a rough calculation of the number of letters missing at the beginning here and a deduction about how much is lost from the ends of the lines on the front. The shortest possible restoration of the month name would be 5 letters (*Μαίων*), the longest 11 (*Φεβρουαρίων*, *Σεπτεμβρίων*, *Νοουεμβρίων*). The consuls were probably named in the usual short form by *cognomen* only, for which we can estimate very roughly about 10–15 letters. In IX **1201** 20 *Καλανδῶν* was abbreviated to *καλ'*, but it seems unlikely that the scribe went over to the next line here in order to write *-λ'*, so probably we should add 9 more for *-λανδῶν* and *καί* to reach an estimated total of between 24 and 35, in round numbers, 25–35 letters. The writing on the back is spaced more closely than on the front, but it would be reasonable to reckon with a loss there of at least 20 letters at the ends of lines 4–6.

There is simply no hope of restoring the original wording over a gap of this size in the absence of a formula. It can hardly be too strongly emphasized that the reconstruction offered here aims only at showing how the surviving words might have fitted into a context.

Μούσσιος Ἀ[*ἰ*]*μιλιανὸς δι*[*έπω*]*ι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν στρ*[(*ατηγῷ*) *Ὀξ*(*υρυγχίτου*).
ἅπερ ἐντυχὼν ἐπὶ ὑπομνημάτων παρεπεπ[*όμφεις τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ ἀναγ-*
καίαν ἀπέφηνεν τὴν παρουσίαν Πασίω[*νο*]*ς τοῦ λαμ*[*προτάτου ἐπανορθωτοῦ.*
φρόντισον οὖν ἐπεῖξαι τὸν Πασίωνα ἵ[*το*]*ι τὸν ἀφ*[*ιξόμενον ἐκεῖ ὡς καταμα-*
θησόμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὰ τῆς πρὸς τὸν [*Διο*]*νύσιον* [*ζητήσεως, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπει-*
δὰν εἴη γνώριμα καὶ σοὶ καὶ τῷ Πασίων[*ι δηλῶ*]*ς*[*αί μοι. ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἤδη ἐδή-*
λωσεν προσέταξα ὑποταγῆναι. ἐρρῶσθ[*αί σε βούλομαι.*
(*ἔτους*) *ε' Τῦβι κδ'.*

'Mussius Aemilianus, administering the prefecture, to the strategus (of the Oxyrhynchite nome?). The information which you had (have?) sent up to headquarters in a written memorandum showed (shows?) that the presence of Pasion the most splendid *corrector* was (is?) necessary. Take care, then, to expedite the progress of Pasion or whoever shall arrive there to investigate on his behalf the details of the inquiry relating to Dionysius, and report these details to me, whenever they become known to you and to Pasion. What he has already reported I have ordered to be subjoined. I wish you well. Year 5, Tybi 24.'

Specific objections can be raised against this version. For example, Mr. Parsons points out that *ἐπειδάν* with the optative is odd, being paralleled only in very late authors, see LSJ s.v. III. 5, and that it is odd that the strategus should 'expedite the progress of' (*ἐπεῖξαι*) a *corrector*. The translation minimizes the force of the Greek word, which indeed usually refers to a process more likely to be practised by superiors on their subordinates.

8 *ὑποταγῆναι*. There is a lower margin of 1·5 to 2 cm. and no trace of anything written there. The edge is probably complete except for wear. It is quite likely that the copy did not include the enclosures.

3113. Petition to a Prefect

37 4B.109/H(6–7)a 14·5 × 21 cm. *c.* A.D. 264/5

This fragment reveals the *praenomen* of the prefect of Egypt of A.D. 264/5. His *tria nomina* are now the same as those of the C. Claudius Firmus whose career, as recorded in *IGR* iii 181, is examined by H.-G. Pflaum, *Les Carrières* ii 735–6, no. 277.

For his three posts Pflaum suggests the following scheme.

1. *praefectus vehiculorum trium provinciarum Galliarum Lugdunensis, Narbonensis et Aquitanicae*	Between A.D. 198 and 209 (cf. p. 1054)

2. *procurator vicesimae hereditatium per Hispanias Baeticam et Lusitaniam*	Between A.D. 198 and 209 (cf. p. 1049)
3. *procurator provinciae Galatiae*	After A.D. 193 (cf. p. 1076)

There are two indications of the date of the inscription: first, the official served as procurator of Galatia during a reign shared by two or more emperors; second, his first post must have been held after the reform of the vehicle system by Septimius Severus. Since this same post was held 'peu avant 247' (p. 1054) by L. Mussius Aemilianus, who rose unusually rapidly to be vice-prefect and then prefect of Egypt, A.D. 256/7–261, it is possible that the inscription should be dated somewhat later than Pflaum suggested, under one of the numerous joint reigns of the mid third century, and that it contains the early career of this prefect of Egypt.

Too much is lost to allow a satisfactory reconstruction of the petition, but a partial outline of the background can be recovered. In his will a man now dead had appointed the petitioner guardian of his children (6–9), who had no near relations surviving (12). The petitioner had already appealed to the prefect against this appointment on the grounds of insufficient means even to supply the wants of his own children and had received a subscription saying that he was still under the obligation (15–19). The object of this petition is not clear, but it seems that he asked for some property to be put at his disposal (28–9). It may be that the mother of the minors, mentioned in 22, was detaining property that might be claimed as part of the orphans' estate.

→ *Γαΐῳ Κλαυδίῳ Φίρμῳ ἐπάρχῳ Ἐγύπ[του*
π[α]ρὰ Αὐρηλίου Θέωνος τοῦ καὶ Ζωΐλ[ο]υ [
ἀπ' Ὀξυρύνχων πόλεως. δικα[
....]*φθονος. πένδε γὰρ τέκνω[ν*
5 ....]*αν ἐκ τῶν νόμων και .[*
..].[.]*φη ἐν διαθήκαις ουδεο .[*
..]*ήρου τοῦ καὶ Διονυσίου υἱουσα[*
....]*νοήσαντος τὰ προσόντα ..[*
....].. *αὐτοῦ τέκνων ἐπιτρα[*
10 .....]*υ αὐτοῦ Σαβινιανοῦ κ .[*
.....]*ς κατελιπτο ἐκδ[*
.....]*ος γένους αὐτῶν ἀλλ[*
.....]*στοργότερον προσε[*
.....]..*θεν ἐπ' ἐμὲ τὸν μητε[*
15 .....].... *μέτριόν τε παντελῶς [*
.....]*ων παίδων 'μου' διατροφαῖς 'κ..['κ[*

1 l. *Αἰγύπτου* 2 *ζωΐλ[ο]υ[* 4 l. *πέντε* 7 *ϋιουσα[* 11 *κατελιπτο*: *π* corr., l. *κατελέλειπτο*

.....]ο̣ν̣ cοι, κύριε, διὰ βιβλιδίων [
..πρε]cβύτηc τυνχάνω καὶ ὅτι .[
.....].αc μοι ἐνέχεcθαί μαι τηcτ̣[
20 .....]οc ἐμαυτὸν ὑποδίγνυμι τα[
.....].ουμενων πρὸc αὐτοὺc κα̣[
.....]η̣c̣ `μητρὸc' τῶν ἀφηλίκων μητε[
.....].αυτηc τῆc μητρὸc προcε.[
.....].α̣ π̣ρ̣ὸ cοῦ τὰ αὐτοῖc τῶν υ.[
25 .....]c̣θαι ἐξαρκ..με τε προcτα[
.....]ν χρέα πάμπολλα ὄντα ο.[
.....]υ παραδοθῆναί μοι τα̣.[.].[
.....]τ̣η οἰκια ἐνδομενίαc καὶ εἰ τ[
.....]ρ̣ιληφα..[.].....τ̣ην.[
30 Back ↓ (m. 2)]. Πούπλιοc Λικίννιο̣c̣ [

19 l. με 20 ϋποδιγνυμι, l. ὑποδείκνυμι 22 c̣ corr. e ν 24 ϋ.[29]ρ̣ϊληφα, l. πα]ρ̣είληφα or]ρ̣ εἴληφα

2 The petitioner was an ex-gymnasiarch in A.D. 235, P. Oslo III 111. 128, cf. 154, 208, 216, 217, 224, 256, 264, 277, and **3131** contains another mention of him as ex-gymnasiarch even earlier, *c.* A.D. 218–25. This agrees with the fact that he calls himself an old man in this document of *c.* A.D. 264/5, see 18. He is mentioned in XXII **2338** 45, as the father of a trumpeter who won an event in A.D. 276/7 and was dead by about A.D. 288/9. A daughter of his appears in IX **1199** 9, 16, dated to a 7th year, and a woman of the same name in P. Oslo 111. 134. His heirs are mentioned in XIV **1701**, which is therefore to be dated after *c.* A.D. 264/5.

5 The space after νόμων may indicate punctuation. The traces at the end suggest π, τ, or ν.

6 The first trace, a descender, suits ἐγ]ρ̣[ά]φη *vel sim.* At the end the articulation is uncertain: οὐ δεόν̣[τωc (*vel sim.*), οὐδὲ ο.[, οὗ δὲ ο.[.

7 Cε⁷ου]ήρου? No person called Severus alias Dionysius is known to me. At the end of the line the large *sigma* seems to favour the articulation υἱοῦ Cα[and compare perhaps Cαβινιανοῦ in 10.

9 The traces look like]ω̣ν̣.

11 Most likely is ἐκ δ[ιαθήκηc.

12 Cf. III **487** 7 μηδένα πρὸc γένουc ἐκ πατρὸc ἢ μητρὸc αὐτῶν ἄλλοτε ἔχειν. No doubt from **487** we can gain a general idea of the tenor of Theon's petition for release from his guardianship, mentioned in 17.

17 Restore ἐ¹⁷νέτυχ]ό̣ν̣ cοι, cf. 19 n. The division between the lines is uncertain.

19 Restore ὑ¹⁹πέγρα]ψάc μοι, cf. 17 n.

24–5 A possible, though not entirely convincing, reading is ἐξαρκῖ̣ν̣ (= -εῖν). The result is still problematical, but perhaps we should supply something like πρὸc τὸ δύνα]c̣θαι ἐξαρκῖν με (l. ἐμέ?) τε πρὸc τὰ [ἐμὰ καὶ τοὺc ὀρφανοὺc πρὸc τὰ ἑαυτῶ]ν χρέα, πάμπολλα ὄντα. To read ἐξαρκο̣ῦ̣με=ἐξαρκοῦμαι seems impossible.

26–8 Perhaps restore something like ὅθ̣[εν . . . ἀξιῶ . . . παραδοθῆναί μοι τὰ ἐ̣[π]ι̣[βάλλοντα τοῖc ἀφήλιξι μέρη τῆc ἐν] τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐνδομενίαc.

30 The initial stroke rises high to the right like the stroke indicating a numeral or like a high *hypsilon*, but the nominative is certain in Πούπλιοc and almost so in Λικίννιο̣c̣. This is plainly part of the name of Valerian or one of his household. It probably has nothing to do with the document on the front.

3114. Petition to a Phylarch

28 4B.60/B(4–5)c 4·5 × 20 cm. 25 June–24 July A.D. 267

In spite of the fact that he was a liturgist in office and the son of parents from the city this petitioner's name had been mistakenly omitted from records relating to the poll-tax. He wrote to the phylarch asking him to correct the records.

This raises again the interesting question of the decline of the poll-tax. Sir Harold Bell showed that it continued to be collected after the *constitutio Antoniniana* (*JRS* 37 (1947) 18). The doubts of Professor V. Tcherikover, expressed in *JJP* 4 (1950) 206 n. 57, were unfounded, see S. L. Wallace, *Taxation*, 133–4; add e.g. **3107** of A.D. 238 and a receipt of A.D. 219 to be published by Dr. J. C. Shelton, inv. 36 4B.94/F(a).

Here we have a young man who should have and may have been registered as a child of nine in the census of A.D. 257/8, which is the last one attested (SPP II, p. 32), and who should have begun paying poll-tax at the age of fourteen in A.D. 262/3. Now in A.D. 266/7, aged eighteen, he reports that his name has been omitted from the records of the λαογραφία. What is not clear is whether he has never paid the tax, which would be quite in keeping with Bell's theory of its gradual decline, or whether the omission of his name occurred only in the current year. But in any case this seems to be the latest allusion to paying the λαογραφία. The only doubt remaining is whether we should interpret this word in the literal sense of a population survey. This seems to be much less likely because of the close connection here of λαογραφία and σύνοψις, which is apparently an assessment list for the exaction of a tax, see P. Mertens, *Les Services*, 106–7.

The similarities of language between this petition and the applications for corn dole are very striking, see indexes to volume XL for references to παρεθεὶς κατ' ἄγνοιαν (9), σημαίνων ἐμαυτόν (10), ἐφ' οὗ καὶ λιτουργῶ etc. (17). The emphasis on local origin (7) and the addition of the age of the petitioner nearly at the end of the petition (18–19) recall items of the corn dole too, e.g. for the first XL **2902** 13, for the second **2914** 15–17. All this suggests the speculation that it may have been the intention to apply for the corn dole that specially prompted this petition, but at the moment there seems to be no way of obtaining proof.

The writing runs across the fibres. On the other side is a narrow column of figures only. The piece may have been cut from a register.

↓ (m. 4?) ..χ̄ (ἐτῶν) ιη
(m. 1) Αὐρηλίῳ Διογένι τῷ καὶ Ἑρ-
μίᾳ φυλ(άρχῳ) τῆς Ὀξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλ(εως) τοῦ
ἐνεστῶτος ιδ (ἔτους)"
5 παρὰ Αὐρηλ(ίου) Πολυδεύκους Ca-
ραπίωνος μη(τρὸς) Ἑλένης

1 Lιη 2 l. Διογένει 3 φῦ, οξ' πο̄ 5 αυρη̄ 6 μηϛ

ἀπὸ τῆς α(ὐτῆς) πόλ(εως). γονέων ὢ(ν)
ἐντοπίων καὶ διὰ λόγω(ν)
παρεθεὶς κατ' ἄ[...]'γ'νοιαν
σημαίνων ἐμαυτὸν
ἐπιδίδωμι τὸ ὑπόμνημα
καὶ ἀξιῶ ταγῆνέ μαι διὰ
τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ καταχωριζο-
μένων βιβλίων τῆς τε
λαογρα(φίας) καὶ συνόψεως
ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Ἡρῴου
ἐφ' οὗ καὶ λιτουργῶ φυλακίᾳ(ν)
πόλεως. εἰμὶ δὲ [.] 'π'ρὸς
τὸ ἐνεστὸς ιδ (ἔτος) (ἐτῶν) ιη
καὶ ὀμνύω τὸν ἔθιμον
Ῥωμαίοις ὅρκον μὴ ἐ-
ψεῦσθαι. (ἔτους) ιδ" Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Πουπλίου Λικιννίου
Γαλλιηνοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
Μεγίστου Περσικοῦ Μεγίστου
Ε]ὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς
Σ]εβαστοῦ, Ἐπείφ. (vac.)
(m. 2) Α]ὐρήλ(ιος) Πολυδεύκης
ἐπιδέδωκα. Αὐρήλ(ιος)
Ἡρακλείδης ὁ καὶ .....
ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
μὴ] εἰδότος γράμμα-
τα. ...] (m. 3) Ἡρῴου
.....]. (ἐτῶν) ιη
(m. 4) .....]ε' ενοι[κ]
.....].α..ωκ...( )
.....]..( )

7 α⁻ πό, ω̄ 8 λογω̄ 12 l. ταγῆναί με 15 λαογραζ 17 φυλακιᾷ 19 ιδζ Lιη 22 Lιδ" 28, 29 αυρή 34 Lιη

'(4th hand?) I have made the registration (?); aged 18. (1st hand) To Aurelius Diogenes alias Hermias, phylarch of the city of the Oxyrhynchites for the current 14th year, from Aurelius Polydeuces son of Sarapion and Helen from the same city. Being of local parentage and passed over in the records

by mistake, to declare myself I submit this application and beg to be given a place in the records filed by you of the poll-tax and of the assessment under (the heading of) the Heroum quarter, in which I am performing a liturgy as a city guard. I am in the current 14th year 18 years old and I swear the oath customary among Romans that I have made no false declaration. Fourteenth year of Imperator Caesar Publius Licinius Gallienus Germanicus Maximus Persicus Maximus Pius Felix Augustus, Epeiph (day omitted). (2nd hand) I, Aurelius Polydeuces, submitted (the petition). I, Aurelius Heracleides, alias . . ., wrote on his behalf because he does not know letters. (3rd hand) . . . Heroum . . . 18 years. (4th hand) . . .'

1 ..χ⁻. Perhaps κ̣ε̣χ(ρημάτικα) or some other part of this verb. The meaning would be that the necessary correction had been entered in the records or perhaps only that the application had been noted. The petitioner's age is repeated here probably because the record concerned was arranged by ages, cf. **3096** 7 seqq. *ἐν τῇ . . . γραφῇ ἀφηλίκων ἐν τάξει τρισκαιδεκαετῶν*. The hand may be the same as in 35–7.

9 *κατ' ἄ*[. . .]*γ'νοιαν*. The letters struck through may have been *π̣λ̣α̣*, i.e. the beginning of *πλάνην*, cf. **3096** 9–10 *κατὰ γραφικὴν πλάνην*.

15 *συνόψεως*. See P. Mertens, *Les Services*, 107 seq., according to whom the *σύνοψις* is the estimate on which is based the collection of the *λαογραφία*, cf. P. Mich. XI 603. 9–10 n. Perhaps the error was discovered towards the end of the year, cf. 27, and to put it right the name had to be added in the current year's tax-list and also in the estimate for the coming year.

17–18 *φυλακία̣(ν) πόλεως*. Cf. F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, 263–8.

30 The alias is very cursively written; even the letter-count is doubtful.

35 Apart from *οἰκία* etc. there is the possibility of *ἐν οἰκ(είᾳ) τάξει* 'in the proper category', see XL **2906** i 28–9, cf. **2907** i 14–15, ii 16, **2908** ii 34.

36–7 The writing is rapid and much abbreviated. The round brackets indicate that the preceding letter is placed above the line to denote abbreviation.

3115. Order to Supply Barley

22 3B.18/G(1–3)b 7·5×4 cm. 6 July A.D. 271

The mention of the Palmyrenes in this document does not shed much light on Zenobia's invasion of Egypt, but it is noteworthy as the only appearance of the ethnic in the papyri so far, apart from the special cases of the *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* in the Dura papyri and the sub-literary O. Mich. I 662.

The strategus orders epimeletae to deliver to Palmyrenes 22½ artabas of barley as supplies for a three-day period. The barley was in all probability fodder for animals (cf. P. Dura, Introd. p. 41), perhaps an instalment of the military *annona* delivered to cavalrymen. If so, we may calculate roughly that this group had about 75 mounts, taking as a basis the daily fodder allowance for sixth-century troops estimated from rather confused evidence at 4 choenices (Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies*, 227, 279). The calculation runs: 22½ art. × 40 = 900 choen. ÷ 3 days = 300 choen. per day ÷ 4 choen. per mount per day = 75 mounts. But this figure, besides being uncertain in itself, will be of little use without further evidence of the circumstances of the delivery.

[Addendum. I see now that in SB VI 9600 the daily barley allowance for a horse is 3 choenices. At that rate the amount here would have been enough for 100 horses for three days.]

The order was written across the fibres on the back of a scrap cut from a register. The remains on the recto are parts of two columns, including various personal names and an Oxyrhynchite village name (*Νέcλα*, ii 3).

↓ π(αρὰ) τοῦ cτρ(ατηγοῦ) ἐπιμεληταῖc κριθῆc.
δότε Παλμυρηνοῖc ὑπὲρ ἡμερῶν
γ¯ κριθῆc ἀρτάβας εἴκοcι δύο
ἥμιcυ λαμβάνοντεc ἀποχάc.
5 (m. 2) ἐcημειω(cάμην).
(m. 1) (ἔτουc) α″ καὶ (ἔτουc) δ″ Ἐπεὶφ ιβ¯.

1 π′, cτρ$ 5 ecημειω$ 6 L, L

'From the strategus to the overseers of barley. Give to the Palmyrenes for three days twenty-two and a half artabas of barley and get receipts. (2nd hand) I signed (the order). (1st hand) 1st year and 4th year, Epeiph 12.'

1 ἐπιμεληταῖc. Cf. F. Oertel, *Liturgie*, 214–21, N. Lewis, *Inventory of Compulsory Services*, s.v.
6 α″ . . . δ″, i.e. 1 Aurelian, 4 Vaballathus = A.D. 270/1, see P. Oxy. XL, Introd. pp. 15–26.

3116. Petition of a Victor in the Games

21 3B.24/H(1–2)a 10·5 × 11 cm. A.D. 275/6

The loss of the foot prevents us from knowing exactly what the petitioner required from the strategus, but enough of the closing formula remains to indicate that it was the official communication of some information to a third party. Since the preamble tells of his victory in a contest for two-horse chariots at Antinoopolis, it would be a reasonable guess that he wanted an official confirmation of his exemption from taxes and liturgies to reach one or more of the persons affected.

This naturally brings to mind the painted papyrus from Antinoopolis that portrays a group of charioteers (*JEA* 17 (1931) 1 and Pl. I, republished in *JHS* 93 (1973) 192–5). We should, however, remember that those charioteers are dressed in the colours of the factions of the Roman hippodrome, which replaced the Greek tradition of chariot racing still represented by the present papyrus and by **3135**. On the distinction and the transition see A. D. E. Cameron, *Circus Factions*, ch. 9.

Much more relevant is a papyrus soon to be published by Dr. J. D. Thomas, inv. 4 1B.76/(v). That is a letter of A.D. 272 from the authorities of one city to their equivalents in another, announcing that in quinquennial games held in the first city a citizen of the second had won a contest for which he was entitled to certain rewards. There are good reasons for thinking that the games took place in Antinoopolis and the victor was an Oxyrhynchite, and a strong possibility that the present papyrus

records another, the third, celebration of the same games, see Dr. Thomas's papyrus, introd. and footnote 26; cf. 11 n. here.

The back of the sheet is blank.

→ *Αὐρηλ[ίῳ .....τ]ῷ 'κ'(αὶ) 'Ιερ[..... δι]ἐπ̣ρ̣υτι*
στρατηγίαν 'Οξυρ[υγχίτου
παρὰ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Cαραπίω[νος] Π̣ατ̣[ερ]μουθίου
ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμπροτάτης 'Οξυ̣[(ρυγχιτῶν) πό]λεως
Καπιτωλειονείκου. ἐπεὶ τῆς ἐν β̣[ί]ῳ̣ δόξης
[με]τεί[λ]ηφα ν[ε]ι̣[κ]ήσας ἐ[ν τῷ] ε̣ὐ̣τυ[χῶ]ς ἐπι-
τ̣ε̣λεσθέντι ἐν τῇ Ἀντινοέων λαμπροτά-
τῃ πόλει ὑπὲρ νείκης κ̣[α]ὶ̣ [ἀ]ι̣δ̣ί̣ο̣[υ κ]ρ̣άτους
τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν αὐτο[κ]ράτορος Τ̣α[κί]τ̣ου
Cεβαστοῦ ἱερῷ εἰcελ[αστικ]ῷ ο̣[ἰκουμ]ενικῷ
Φιδαδελφίῳ Ἀντινο[είῳ ..]..[....].[.]κῷ
Καπιτωλ[ι]α̣κ̣ῷ ἀγῶνε̣ι τ[ὸ τῶ]ν̣ ς̣[υ]νωρίδων
ἀγώνισμα καὶ ἐπεὶ τῷ ς̣[τε]φ̣[άν]ῳ τὰ cυνή-
θη ἀποκρίματα κομισάμ[ε]νος εἰcήλα-
ca ἐνταῦθα, ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἀτέλειαν καὶ ἀ-
λιτουργηcίαν πάντῃ ἐcχηκὼc κατὰ
τοὺc τῶν ἀγώνων θεcμοὺc ἠπίχθην
τὴν τῶνδε τῶν βιβλε̣ι̣[δί]ων ἐπίδοcιν
ποιή[cacθ]α̣ι̣ ἀ̣ξ̣ι̣ῶν δι' ἑνὸ[c] τ̣ῶν περὶ cὲ ὑπη-
[ρετῶν.....μεταδο]θ̣ῆ̣ν̣[αι

1 τ]ωκ 10 ϊερω 11 l. Φιλαδελφείῳ 12 l. ἀγῶνι 13 l. ἐπί

'To Aurelius ... alias Hier..., administering the business of the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Marcus Aurelius Sarapion son of Patermuthius, from the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, victor in Capitoline games. Since I have gained a share in life's glory by winning the contest for two-horse chariots in the sacred, iselastic, world-wide, Philadelphian, Antinoan, . . ., Capitoline games auspiciously celebrated in the most glorious city of the Antinoites for the victory and everlasting might of our lord Imperator Tacitus Augustus, and, after receiving the responses customarily accompanying the crown, I made a triumphal entry here, and as a result have gained exemption from taxes and liturgies altogether, according to the ordinances governing games, I was impelled to submit this petition, requesting that by the agency of one of your assistants (the copy of this document?) be communicated . . .'

1 *'Ιερ*[. There can be no doubt about the large initial iota; ϵ is a round trace of the left of a letter; ρ a dot very low down. *'Ιέρ*[*ακι* or *'Ιέρ*[*ωνι βασι*$^{\lambda}$ *γρ*ʃ is a likely supplement.

δι]*ἐπ̣ρ̣υτι*. Generally followed by *τὴν στρατηγίαν* or *τὰ κατὰ τὴν c.*, but the papyrus is unbroken and blank before *στρατηγίαν*.

6 ν[ϵ]ι̣[κ]ήcαc. Dr. Thomas very opportunely reminded me that this petitioner is not necessarily the charioteer; he may be the owner of the horses, see L. Robert, *Op. Min.* i 520–1 (= *BCH* 59 (1935) 461–2), and compare **3135**, a contract between a charioteer and an owner.

8 [ἀ]ι̣δί̣ο̣[υ. The remains are suitable, but scanty. Compare *CIG* 5973 *ὑπὲρ cωτηρίας καὶ ἐπανόδου καὶ ἀιδίου διαμονῆc*. The traces exclude *θείου*, *ἱεροῦ*, and *αἰωνίου*.

11 φιδαδελφιω: l. *Φιλαδελφείῳ*. Compare the games called *Φιλαδέλφεια* known chiefly from Athens. From the dates of the earliest references the word is taken to apply to Marcus Aurelius and Verus, *RE* xix 2097, cf. L. Moretti, *Iscr. Agon.* pp. 240–1. Moretti believes later occurrences refer to Caracalla and Geta, but says that these could not be celebrated after Geta's murder. Here it presumably goes back to Marcus and Verus.

The word occurs also in 4 1B.76/(v). 8, and is perhaps to be restored in SB X 10493. 4.

Ἀντινο]είῳ. See *RÉG*, 1952, pp. 191–3, cf. 4 IB.76/(v). 7–8 n.

..]..[....].[.]κω. The last trace is the tip of a very low descender. The most likely restoration that I can think of is *πϵ]ι̣τ[αετη]ρ[ι]κῷ*, cf. e.g. BGU IV 1074. 16, but the traces are minimal and not certainly compatible with]ι̣τ[. Dr. Thomas has suggested the possibility of [*γ′* (= *τρίτῳ*) *πϵ]ι̣τ[αετη]ρ[ι]κῷ*, comparing 4 1B.76(v). 6–7 *β′* (= *δευτέρῳ*) *πενταϵτηρικῷ*, on the attractive theory that the occasion of this victory was the next celebration of the same quinquennial games that appear in his papyrus, see introd.

14 *ἀποκρίματα*. It may be that this word refers to imperial pronouncements about the privileges of victors such as are cited in the diplomas, e.g. XXVII **2476**, but *κομιcάμενοc* seems to be used in the sense 'get for oneself, acquire, gain', see LSJ s.v. *κομίζω* II. 2, and it seems to me hard to take it to mean simply 'adduce'.

I suggest, very tentatively indeed, that just as the Columbia Apokrimata turn out to be imperial subscriptions to petitions, see P. Col. Apokr. pp. 42–5, so these *ἀποκρίματα* may be the subscriptions of officials of the games confirming his victory, issued in answer to his petition. Perhaps compare P. Lond. III 1178. 68–102, BGU IV 1074. 14–16, XXVII **2476** 21–33, but note that these subscriptions attest enrolment in guilds, not victories.

19–20 Mr. Parsons points out that the fact that the message is to be transmitted by one of the assistants of the strategus indicates that the party to be informed is local. The most obvious possibility is the city council, which would be especially interested in the appointment of liturgists, cf. A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils*, 98 seqq., and so in proofs of exemption.

20 *μεταδο]θῇ γ[αι* suits the traces and is necessary to the formula. It was perhaps preceded by *τούτου τὸ ἀντίγραφον*.

3117. Record of Proceedings in Court

36 4B.110/A(1–2)a 23 × 21 cm. Third century

These proceedings took place in the Oxyrhynchite nome before the tribunal of a procurator called Alexander, whose identity and exact post are uncertain, see 8 n. A new *iuridicus* and deputy prefect called Callistianus played a part in the history of the case, see 18 n.

For this type of text in general see R. A. Coles, 'Reports of Proceedings in Papyri' (*Pap. Brux.* 4).

Apart from a few illegible traces of a second column on twisted fibres to the right, the document now consists of a column of 26 lines, of which the bottom left-hand corner has been roughly torn away. In the left margin opposite each surviving line there is a blob or line of ink, apparently a check mark of some kind, perhaps left by

the writer as he checked the accuracy of his copy. The first 14 lines are virtually complete, but are largely occupied with the technicalities of an application for an adjournment. In 15 the plaintiffs' advocate begins to summarize the earlier stages, which are, however, obscured by the damage. If the reconstruction is right, see 15–26 n., the case went as follows.

In or before A.D. 219 a certain Serenus died bequeathing the greater portion of his estate to his son Leonides and a lesser share to his daughter Herais. Herais challenged the will and successfully petitioned the deputy prefect for an equal share. Later she made a second application to a prefect known from A.D. 219–22. It is not clear, because of the damage, whether this was a routine step, say a request for *bonorum possessio*, or whether there was some new complication. At any rate Leonides now appealed against the judgement of the deputy prefect and succeeded. So Serenus' will remained in force till some time in the prefecture of Mevius Honoratianus, A.D. 231/2–236, when the prefect upset it. By this time it seems that a woman called Diogenis was the claimant, presumably as the heiress of Herais. We do not know whether she actually enjoyed the inheritance, but the present claimants, a man and a woman, are the heirs of Diogenis and say that they ought to have received half of the estate. The name of the defendant, Serenus alias Lucalexander, suggests that he was the grandson of the original Serenus and the son of Leonides.

On the back nine short lines written across the fibres in the top right-hand corner concern the manumission of a slave woman, which has no certain connection with the proceedings. On manumissions see XXXVIII **2843** and the literature cited in the introduction there.

→ *Ἔτους α" Παῦνι κ' ἐν Ὀξυρυγχείτῃ πρὸ βήματος.* (vac.)

Δημήτριος ῥ(ήτωρ) εἶ(πεν), "Χαιρήμων Διογένους καὶ [2–3]..οῦς ἡ καὶ Ταδώρα διὰ Χαιρήμονος ἐγ[υγ]χ[άνουσιν.

κέλευσον κληθῆναι Σερῆνον τὸν καὶ Λουκαλέξα[ν]δρον." κληθέντος καὶ ὑπακούσαντος, Δημητ̣ρ̣[ίου

ἀρχομένου λέγειν, Ἀσκληπιάδης ῥ(ήτωρ) εἶ(πεν), "ὑπερτιθέμεθα τὴν σήμερον εἰς βιβλεία." Δημήτρ̣ι̣ος

5 *ῥ(ήτωρ) εἶ(πεν), "καὶ χθὲς ὑπερέθετο, πῇ μὲν λέγων κοινωνῖν 'αὐτῷ' ὀρφανοὺς καὶ προσήκειν αὐτοὺς παρεῖναι*

τοὺ̣ς̣' μήτε δικαζομένους μήτε ἐπιόντας, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ̣ .....ω ἐκέλευσας αὐτῷ ἀποκρείνασθαι, ἐκ δ[ε]ντέ-

ρ[[ων]]'ο[υ]' ἔφη δεῖν διδάξαι τὸν ῥήτορα καὶ ἐ[[φη]]'πεὶ' ἔμαθες [ὅ]τι φυγοδικεῖ ἐκέλευσας, ἐὰν μὴ ἀπ[ο]κρ[ε]ίν[ητα]ι [σή-

μερον καὶ κατὰ τὸν παρόντα, ἀποφανεῖσθαι. τοῦτο περιέχει σου τὰ ὑπομνήματα."

/ Ἀλέξανδρος

2 ῥ ει' 4 ῥ ει' 5 ῥ ει' 6 l. ἐπεί

ἐπί[τ]ροπος εἶπεν, "εἶπον ὅτι [ἐὰ]ν μὴ εἴπῃ ὅρον δώσω." Ἀντώνιος ῥ(ήτωρ) εἶ(πεν), "[εἰς] τὸ τ[ὸ] πρᾶγμα δ[ιδ]άξαι ο[ὐ
χρεία ἐστὶ[ν] παμπόλλων βιβλείων." / Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπίτροπος ἐπύθετο, "περὶ τίνος ἐστὶν τὸ πρᾶγμ[α;
διὰ τί ὑπερτίθεται;" Σερ[ῆ]ν[ος εἶ]πεν, "κοινά ἐστιν ἐμοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὰ βιβλία [καὶ ὁ ἀ]δελφ[ό]ς μου δεῖ[ται βοη-
θεῖν. μεγάλα ἐστὶν τὰ ὑπομ[ν]ήματα." Χαιρήμων εἶπεν, "ἐγὼ τὰ ὑπ[ο]μνήμα[τα] ἐπιφέρω." Δη[μήτρι-
ος ῥ(ήτωρ) εἶ(πεν), "εἰ ἄκρειτον ἦν τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἐνῆν ἀναχωρεῖν ἴσως εὐλόγως αὐτὸν καὶ λέγειν ὡ[ς πά-
λειν προσήκει παρασκευασμένον ἥκειν. ἐπὶ δὲ κέκριται καὶ ἀποφάσεως φθάνον τετύχηκε[ν, ὡς
.....]ην ἀπόφασιν βιαζόμενος, ὑπεύθυνός ἐστιν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων. Σερῆνος τι....διαθ[
.....] ἐπὶ κληρονόμοις δυσὶ παισίν, Ἡραΐδι θυγατρί, καὶ Λεωνίδῃ υἱῷ. τὰ μέρη τῆς κληρονομ[ίας
. ..διαθήκαις ἑκατέρῳ ἐδέδετο. μετὰ ταῦτα Ἡραῖς ἠύθυνεν τὰς διαθήκας ὡς οὐ νομιμ.[
.....]νας ἐνέτυχεν Καλλιστιανῷ τῷ τότε δικαιοδότῃ διαδεχομένῳ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἡγεμον[ίαν
.....] τὰς μὲν διαθήκας λελύσθαι, κληρονομεῖν δὲ ἐξ ἴσου τ[[ον]]ῶ ἀδελ-
φ[[ον]]ῶ ὡς [ἐ]ξ ἀδιαθέτων μ.[
.....] τοῦ Λεωνίδου Κ[α]λλιστιανὸς ἀποφαίνεται. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐνέτυχεν Χρήστῳ τῇ ἡγεμονε[ίᾳ
c. 20 letters].τα μαθὼν ὁ Λεω[[δ]]ν' ἴδης ἐκκαλεῖται πρὸς τὴν ἀπόφασιν τὴν Καλλι[στιανοῦ
c. 20 letters ἐ]κκλήτου, πλὴν ταῦτα πάντα λέλυται ὑπὸ Ὀνωρατιανοῦ. ἐ[ν]ταῦθα γ.[
c. 20 letters]ατι καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν Ἡραΐδος φυλάττει καὶ ἐκβάλλει τ[ὰς δ]ιαθ[ήκας
c. 20 letters] Καλλιστιανοῦ τὴν κελεύουσαν ἐξ ἀδιαθέτου ἰσομοι[ρί]αν [ἔ]χ[ειν
c. 20 letters] ἡμ[ᾶ]ς τοὺς τῆς Διογενίδος κληρονόμους ἔδει τὸ ἡμικλήριον [

9 ῥ ει' 12 ὑπομ[ν]ηματα, ὑπ[ο]μνημα[τα] 13 ῥ ει', ἴσως 14 l. παρεσκευασμένον, ἐπεί
16 ηραΐδι, υἱῶ 17 l. ἐδέδοτο; ηραῖς 19 ἴσου 23 ηραΐδος 24 ἰσομοι[ρι]αν

c. 23 letters] *Ὀνορατιανὸς μὲν γὰρ παρέδωκεν τῇ Διογενίδι τὰ Λεωνιδ̣[*

Back ↓ *ἀ̣π̣ελ(ευθέρα) Ἀ̣[ρ]θωνίου Πτολ̣[ε]μαίου τοῦ*

Δι̣δ̣ύμου μητρὸς Ϲαραπιάδος

ἀπ' Ὀξ(υρύγχων) πόλ(εως) Κο̣τ̣τ̣ι̣ειοῦς ἐπικε-

30 *κλημένη Ε̣ὐφροσύνη οἰκο-*

γ̣ενὴς δούλ(η) ἐκ δούλης Κοπροῦ-

τ̣ος ὡ̣ς̣ (ἐτῶν) (vac.) λύτρα (δραχμῶν) Ἀ̣χ.

Ἁρθῶνις ὁ καὶ ....ιρίων Ἀ̣ρθω-

[ν]ί̣ο̣υ μητρὸς Ϲαραποῦτος

35 *ἀπ' Ὀξυ(ρύγχων) πόλ(εως).*

26 l. *Ὀνωρατιανός* 27 *ἀ̣π̣ελ*$^{\lambda}$ 29 *οξ′πο*$^{\lambda}$ 31 *δου*$^{\lambda}$ 32 L, ϚἈχ 35 *οξυ′πο*$^{\lambda}$

'Year 1, Payni 20. In the Oxyrhynchite nome *pro tribunali.*

'Demetrius, advocate, said, "Chaeremon, son of Diogenes, and . . . ous alias Tadora, by agency of Chaeremon, are applying to the court. Order Serenus alias Lucalexander to be called."

'When he was called and answered to his name, as Demetrius was beginning to speak, Asclepiades, advocate, said, "We apply to adjourn today's hearing for (the preparation of) documents."

'Demetrius, advocate, said, "Yesterday too he applied for an adjournment, saying at one point that there were orphans in joint ownership with him and that it was proper that they should be present though no case is being brought against them and they are not taking legal action, and when . . . you ordered him to answer for the second time he said that it was necessary to instruct the advocate and when you realized that he is trying to evade the lawsuit you pronounced that if he does not answer today and at the present time you will deliver judgement. This is incorporated in your records."

'Alexander, procurator, said, "I said that if he does not speak I shall give a ruling."

'Antonius, advocate, said, "For instruction in this case there is no need of a great many documents."

'Alexander, procurator, inquired, "What is the case about? Why does he apply for adjournment?"

'Serenus said, "The documents are of common concern to me and my brother, and my brother desires to assist. The records are extensive."

'Chaeremon said, "I can produce the records."

'Demetrius, advocate, said, "If the case were undecided, perhaps it would be rationally open to him to withdraw and to say that it is proper for him to come later when he is prepared, but since it has been decided and has already reached a judgement, he is liable to the legal eonsequences as one who is resisting . . . judgement."'

(For lines 15–26 see note.)

Lines 27–35. 'Freedwoman of Harthonius, son of Ptolemy, grandson of Didymus, mother Sarapias, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, Cottieious (?), surnamed Euphrosyne, houseborn slavewoman, daughter of the slavewoman Coprous, aged (blank) years. Ransom 1,600 drachmas.

'Harthonis alias . . . irion, son of Harthonius, mother Sarapous, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi.'

1 Because of the appearance below (22, 26) of the prefect Mevius Honoratianus, known from December/January A.D. 231/2 to 20 November A.D. 236,[1] the earliest possible year is 1 Maximinus,

[1] Stein, *Die Präfekten*, 131–4. Reinmuth accepts 16 May A.D. 238 as the date of P. Reinach 91, in which Honoratianus appears. Stein argued in favour of A.D. 235, i.e. year 1 (α) not 4 (δ), and after inspecting the papyrus I am convinced that year 1 is correctly read, see *ZPE* 9 (1972) 19. [M. X. Loriot has now produced strong reasons, based on the imperial titles, for thinking that the clerk wrote year 1 (α) by mistake for 2 (β), see *ZPE* 11 (1973) 147–56.]

A.D. 235. Payni 20 is 14 June. In favour of accepting 14 June A.D. 235 as the date of these proceedings is the circumstance that Honoratianus is given no title, while the earlier officials, Callistianus and Chrestus, are identified by their titles. This may suggest that he was in office at the time of writing.

There was an interval between the judgement of Honoratianus in favour of Diogenis (26) and the present proceedings, in which the applicants are the heirs of Diogenis (25), but since his prefecture began more than three years before 14 June A.D. 235, this is no serious objection. A later date is, of course, by no means excluded, see also 8 n.

πρὸ βήματος = *pro tribunali*, see A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law*, s.vv. *tribunal, de plano*; cf. XLII **3017** 5 n.

2 [2–3 letters] . . ους. The second of the doubtful letters is most likely to be π or ν, e.g. [Cαρ]α̣π̣οῦς or [Θε]α̣ν̣οῦς. Sarapous would offer a tenuous connection with the text on the back, see 34 n., but there are many other possibilities, see Dornseiff–Hansen, *Rückl. Wb. d. gr. Eigennamen.*

ἐν̣τ̣[υγ]χ̣[άνουσιν. For the restoration see e.g. M. *Chrest.* 93. 2. This is a good parallel to the present document in general and particularly for the appeals procedure. Comparing lines 2 and 3 here, we can make two minor corrections to it. In M. *Chrest.* 93. 3 read κέλευς[ον] not κελεῦς[αι], and in 4 read Ἀμμων̣[ίου ἀρχομένου] [5] λέγειν, Ἀντωνῖνος ῥήτωρ εἶπ(εν), instead of Ἀμμών̣[ιος ῥήτωρ εἶπ(εν), ". . . . . .] [5] λέγειν." Ἀντωνῖνος ῥήτωρ εἶπ(εν).

4 For the sense of εἰς βιβλεία see M. *Chrest.* 93. 5 ἡ Ἀρητοῦς τὰ βιβλία αὐτῆς ἐνθάδε οὐκ ἔχει, κτλ.

6–7 ἐκ δ[ε]υτέ⁷ρ[[ων]]`ο[υ]'. The letters ων are struck through horizontally, but there is also faded ink affecting the ρ. Part of it may be ascribed to the check mark, see introd., but it looks as if the writer also inadvertently put a diagonal through ρ, either by force of habit or because he really thought for a moment that ῥ(ήτωρ) ἔφη was what was intended.

7–8 ἐκέλευσας . . . ἀποφανεῖσθαι. The subject is evidently the same for both words, which hardly makes sense. The speaker was presumably at a loss for a solemn enough synonym for ἔφης or εἶπες.

8 The oblique line occurs here only before the name of the presiding official, cf. 10; see R. A. Coles, 'Reports of Proceedings in Papyri' (*Pap. Brux.* 4), 54 n. 3.

Alexander is not certainly identifiable and may be new. He might possibly be the Antonius Alexander who was epistrategus of the Heptanomia in A.D. 244 or 245 (VIII **1119** = W. *Chrest.* 397; cf. M. Vandoni, *Epistrategi*, 33), in which case year 1 would be of the reign of Philip and the day would be 14 June A.D. 244. Against this is the simple description of him as a procurator. The epistrategus was, of course, a procurator, and is commonly so described in Latin. There are a very few cases in Greek where the word ἐπίτροπος is used of him, see O. Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamte*², 366–7, W. *Gdz.* 36–7, V. Martin, *Epistratèges*, 107–9 (who goes too far on p. 109 in saying 'souvent'). See perhaps also P. Wisc. I 34. 16 ἐπ]ι̣τρόπου, answered in the duplicate 35. 20 by ἐπιστρατήγου, though the editor concluded that the second was a mere mistake and I am inclined to agree with him, see **3089** 6 n. None of these cases provides a straightforward parallel to what we should have here if this identification were correct.

A better candidate might be Domitius Alexander, who was a deputy epistrategus in A.D. 247/8 (*Wiener Stud.* xxiv 106, BGU I 8 iii 9, SB V 7696; M. Vandoni, *Epistrategi*, 42–3).[1] He was presumably in Egypt in some other capacity when the post of epistrategus of the Heptanomia fell unexpectedly vacant, so he might well have been a procurator. In this case the date might be in 1 Philip as above or in 1 Decius, i.e. 14 June A.D. 250, or even later.

[1] Miss Vandoni justifiably points out that the title of the Alexander, διέπων τὴν ἐπιστρατηγίαν, of SB V 7696. 27–8 identifies him with Domitius Alexander and not with Antonius Alexander, but the entry is misleadingly prefixed with the date 'gen.-apr. 250 d.C.'. This is the date assigned to the proceedings in the text by the first editors in *JEA* 21 (1935) 228, whereas Alexander's name occurs only in the *incipit* of some documentary evidence cited in the course of these proceedings. The exactly similar form of the citation of pronouncements of Honoratianus in lines 58 and 75 shows clearly that no date can be deduced from them. All we know is that Domitius Alexander was active in 5 Philip = A.D. 247/8 (BGU I 8 iii 9–11). I have made the same remarks in *CÉ* 47 (1972) 242 in connection with PSI XIV 1444. 9–10, where there is probably a reference to the same deputy epistrategus. That papyrus is also of the reign of Philip.

If the date were as late as A.D. 244 or A.D. 250, however, we might expect to find Honoratianus given a distinguishing title, like his predecessors, see 1 n. If the correct date is A.D. 235, Alexander is a new procurator holding an unknown post.

In fact, the evidence is too slight and the arguments too tenuous to justify a conclusion.

9 In the translation the words following *εἶπον ὅτι* are taken as indirect speech in a vivid construction, but this might be *ὅτι recitativum*, i.e. followed by direct speech.

ὅρον δώcω. It looks as if here the official is drawing a distinction between *ἀπόφαcιc* (implied in *ἀποφανεῖcθαι*) and *ὅροc*, since if the terms are synonymous his intervention has no point. Perhaps *ἀπόφαcιc* means a judgement in a particular case, *ὅροc* a ruling on the principle, the facts to be determined by some subordinate with delegated authority.

9–10 For the comment of Antonius compare M. *Chrest.* 93. 6 *οὐ δεῖ μοι βιβλίων εἰc τὴν παροῦcαν δίκην κτλ.*

11 The supplement *δεῖ[ται προcελ]θεῖν*, 'desires to appear in court', would also be very suitable in sense, but rather long. No doubt there are other possibilities.

14 *παρεcκευαcμένον*. Cf. M. *Chrest.* 93. 5–6 *αἰτοῦμε[ν δοθῆναι ἡμῖν ἡμέραν πρὸc]* [6] *παραcκευὴν τῆc δίκηc*.

14–15 Restore e.g. *ὡc* [15] *ταύτην τ]ὴν ἀπόφαcιν* or [15] *ὡc νομίμ]ην*.

15–26 Here the advocate Demetrius gives the history of the case, which is unfortunately obscured by the damage. The text might be partly restored by conjecture as follows.

Cερῆνοc τιθεὶc διαθ[ήκαc ἐτε[16]*λεύτηcεν] ἐπὶ κληρονόμοιc δυcὶ παιcίν, Ἡραΐδι θυγατρί, καὶ Λεωνίδῃ υἱῷ. τὰ μέρη τῆc κληρονομ[ίαc τὰ ἐν* [17] *ταῖc δια]θήκαιc ἑκατέρῳ ἐδέδετο* (l. *ἐδέδοτο*). *μετὰ ταῦτα Ἡραῖc ἠνθυνεν τὰc διαθήκαc ὡc οὐ νομίμωc κατὰ τὸ ἔθο*[18]*c λελυμέ]νας. ἐνέτυχεν Καλλιcτιανῷ τῷ τότε δικαιοδότῃ διαδεχομένῳ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἡγεμον[ίαν, παρὰ τοὺ*[19]*c νόμουc] τὰc μὲν διαθήκαc λελύcθαι, κληρονομεῖν δὲ ἐξ ἴcου τ[[ον]]ῷ ἀδελφ[[ον]]ῷ ὡc [ἐ]ξ ἀδιαθέτων μα[ρτυρομένη,* [20] *καὶ κατὰ] τοῦ Λεωνίδου Κ[α]λλιcτιανὸc ἀποφαίνεται. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐνέτυχεν Χρήcτῳ τῇ ἡγεμονε[ίᾳ νεωc*[21]*τὶ καταcταθέντι καὶ τα]ῦτα μαθὼν ὁ Λεω-[[δ]]νίδηc ἐκκαλεῖται πρὸc τὴν ἀπόφαcιν τὴν Καλλι[cτιανοῦ* [22] *c.* 20 letters *ἐ]κκλήτου, πλὴν ταῦτα πάντα λέλυται ὑπὸ Ὀνωρατιανοῦ. ἐ[ν]ταῦθα γά[ρ c.* 5 letters [23] *c.* 20 letters *]ατι καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν Ἡραΐδοc φυλάττει καὶ ἐκβάλλει τ[ὰc δ]ιαθ[ήκαc* [24] *καὶ βεβαιοῖ τὴν ἀπόφαcιν] Καλλιcτιανοῦ τὴν κελεύουcαν ἐξ ἀδιαθέτου ἰcομοι[ρί]αν [ἔ]χ[ειν ἑκάτερον*.

'Serenus died leaving a will in favour of two heirs, his children, Herais, his daughter, and Leonides, his son. The shares of the inheritance specified in the will had been given to each. After this Herais challenged the will as not having been lawfully opened according to the custom. She applied to Callistianus the *iuridicus* at that time, who was taking over the affairs of the prefecture, bringing evidence that the will had been opened contrary to law and that she was entitled to inherit on equal terms with her brother as in cases of intestacy, and Callistianus gave judgement against Lconides. After this she applied to Chrestus, lately appointed to the prefecture, and when he learnt this, Leonides appealed against the judgement of Callistianus. (Leonides was successful in his?) appeal, but all this has been revoked by Honoratianus. For at this point (Honoratianus was consulted in the affair?) and he lent his protection to Herais' plea and threw out the will and confirmed the judgement of Callistianus, which orders that each party should have an equal share on a basis of intestacy.'

The fragments of 25–6 run, '. . . we, as the heirs of Diogenis, ought to have (received?) half of the inheritance . . . Honoratianus, indeed, handed over to Diogenis the (property unlawfully left to?) Leonides . . .'.

18 *λελυμέ]νας*. Cf. 19. On the opening of wills see H. Kreller, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen*, 395–406, R. Taubenschlag, *Law*[2], 201–4; but this sense here is by no means certain. For example, *λελύcθαι* (19) might be taken to mean 'had been dissolved', cf. 22.

Callistianus, *iuridicus*, vice-prefect of Egypt is new. From line 20 we see that he was in office before Chrestus, first attested as prefect of Egypt on 13 August A.D. 219 (*IGR* i 1179). It is very likely that there was a need for a vice-prefect immediately before Chrestus to replace his last known predecessor Julius Basilianus. Dio tells us that Basilianus was a supporter of Macrinus who refused to accept the accession of Elagabalus, fled from Egypt, and was captured and put to death (78. 35). Macrinus was finally defeated on 8 June A.D. 218 (78. 39. 1). Callistianus can very plausibly be assigned to the second half of A.D. 218, and could perhaps have continued in office into A.D. 219.

That is the most likely hypothesis, especially if the application to Chrestus was routine, say simply

for *bonorum possessio*. However, the interval between Callistianus and Chrestus can have been longer. For instance, Callistianus might have been a substitute for Valerius Datus, last attested on 6 March A.D. 217 (P. Lond. 936: vol. III, p. 30). Dio tells us (78. 15. 3) that Macrinus made away with Datus, and Stein suggested, plausibly enough, that Datus was still prefect of Egypt at the time (*Die Präfekten*, 122–3). Caracalla was killed on 8 April A.D. 217 and Macrinus then acceded. The only known date in the prefecture of Basilianus is 6 April A.D. 218 (XLI 2955), so that there could have been a short vice-prefecture between Datus and him. In view of all the uncertainties it would be hard to say at this moment how this possibility fits in with the hypothesis that the Agrippa of **3093** and **3094** may have been a *iuridicus* about this time, out of office, however, by 21 September A.D. 217, see **3093** 11 n.

20 *τῇ ἡγεμονε̣[ίᾳ*. The final trace, though minute, favours *ε* rather than *ι*, because it appears at a middle level and there are no remains below, where *ι* might be expected to have left some. Nevertheless *τῷ ἡγεμονε[ύσαντι* would be impossible, except as an emendation.

21 *ἐκκαλεῖται πρός* certainly means 'appealed against', see P. Beatty Panop. 1. 272–3 *ἐκκεκλῆσθαι . . . πρὸς ἀπόφασιν οὐ δεόντως αὐτοῖς ἐξενεχθεῖσαν*. This is one of the corner-stones of the reconstruction of 15–24. Callistianus therefore delivered judgement against Leonides (20). Leonides must have been successful in his appeal, however one should restore 22 and 23, and this outcome was reversed by Honoratianus (22), since he lent his protection to the plea of Herais.

27 *ἀ̣π̣ελ(ευθέρα)*. The traces at the beginning are very scanty, but in the context, see especially *λύτρα* (32), this interpretation seems secure.

29 *Κο̣ττ̣ιειοῦς*. Unknown; in view of the mother's name *Κο̣π̣ρειοῦς* might be thought of, but the two well-separated *taus* seem fairly clear.

33 *Π̣α̣υ̣ς̣ιρίων* would be a possible reading. This man may have acted for the slave in paying over the ransom, cf. XXXVIII 2843 introd. His patronymic suggests that he may have been the son of the owner.

34 *Σαραποῦτος*. This might possibly be the woman mentioned on the front (2). No other connection between the two sides is apparent.

3118. Official Letter

37 3B.87/K(9–12)a | 6 × 15 cm. | Third century

This is a letter sent by a high Roman official called Corellius Galba to a *procurator Phari*, instructing him to prevent a certain man from leaving the country. It is the first example of its type, though it is well known that travel to and from Egypt was carefully controlled, see the summary in R. Taubenschlag, *Law*², 642–4.

The most interesting question it raises is that of the rank of the hitherto unknown Corellius Galba. Another document, X **1271**, lately republished with new readings and bibliography as ChLA iv no. 266, strongly suggests that he was prefect of Egypt. This contains an application in Greek from a woman to the prefect of Egypt for an authority to the *procurator Phari* permitting her to return to her home, the city of Side, and below the application there is a Latin subscription, extremely difficult to read, but presumably the desired authority. The terms of the application show that this was a normal procedure, though not necessarily that it was only the prefect who could issue a passport. The probability here, therefore, is that the women who wished to prevent this man's departure applied to the prefect to give the proper instructions. This is not a conclusive argument, because it is quite conceivable that lesser Roman officials, even if

they could not issue passports, might have the power to prevent exit, especially in cases where delay would be contrary to the interests of the government.

The date of the document is also unknown. There is a very tenuous possibility that two of the women mentioned are to be identified with others of the same unusual names in P. Lond. III 1157, but the date of this document is also hedged about with difficulties, see 5–10 n. Even if the connection were certain and the date fixed, it could give only a very rough guide to Corellius' term of office.

The handwriting is a good official documentary script with the letters well separated. The slope and the elongation of the letters and the shapes of some of them, particularly *epsilon*, seem to show the influence of the 'severe' or 'mixed' style of book-hand. The formality of it makes it harder rather than easier to date. In my opinion it can hardly fall outside the third century but I am unable to assign it to a narrower period inside that century.

The back is blank.

→ Κορέλλιος Γάλβας
Χ̣ρῃ[c]τίωνι ἐπιτρό-
πῳ Φάρου χαίρειν.
τὰ γραφέντα μοι ὑ̣[πὸ
Κ̣λ̣αυδίας Φιλο̣ρ̣[ω-
μέ̣ᾳ̣ς διὰ Κλαυδίας
Ἰcιδώρας θυγατρὸc
καὶ Κλαυδίας Ἑρωτίλ-
λης τῆς καὶ Ἀπολι-
ναρίας ὑποταγῆ-
ναι ἐκέλευca. cὺ
ἐντυχὼν αὐτοῖc
φρόντιcον ἐπι-
cχεῖν τὴν ἔξοδο̣ν
{τ}οῦ φαcιν Cεπτιμίου
Ἀμμωνίου καὶ τοῖc
ἄλλοις οἳ τὰ τοιαῦ-
τα ἐπιτηρο[ῦcιν
ἐπιθέcθαι π[ερὶ
τοῦ ταυτ̣[
..[
. . . . .

5–6 l. *Φιλορωμαίας* 7 ïcιδωρας

'Corellius Galba to Chrestio, *procurator Phari*, greeting. I have given orders that the letters written to me by Claudia Philoromaea, through Claudia Isidora her daugher, and Claudia Erotilla alias Apolinaria, are to be subjoined. You are to take cognizance of them and take measures to prevent the departure of the man they mention, Septimius Ammonius, and to give instructions to the other persons who keep watch over such matters concerning . . .'

2 *Χρη[c]τίωνι*. The name is somewhat doubtful, as well as rare, cf. *CIG* ii 3690, iii 4422. This form has been preferred to *Ἀρητίωνι* because there is a spot of ink at the top right of the first letter which suggests *chi* rather than *alpha*, and also a narrow space, wide enough to accommodate *sigma*, after *eta*.

[After this note and the following one were written the publication of P. R. C. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, brought my attention to Chrestio *Aug. lib. procurator insularum Melit(ae) et Gaul(i)* in *CIL* x 7494 = *ILS* 3975. The similarity of the posts and the coincidence of the name make it very possible that inscription and papyrus refer to the same man. There is no real evidence for Weaver's statement on p. 278 (cf. *Historia* 14 (1965) 464) that Chrestio may have belonged to the first century. It is based on the comparison of a somewhat similar post held by another man. The papyrus certainly could not be assigned to any date earlier than the third century.]

2–3 *ἐπιτρόπῳ Φάρου*. This official is known only from *CIL* vi 8582 and X **1271**. He does not occur, as suggested in A. Calderini, *Diz. top.* i, p. 158, in *CIL* xiv 170 (= vi 1624), where *proc. Alex. Pelusi P[* is perhaps to be completed *P[araetonii* (H.-G. Pflaum, *Carrières* iii 1089, ii 925–7, esp. 926). This is doubly clear since the career of the last inscription is that of an equestrian who rose to be prefect of Egypt, L. Mussius Aemilianus, while this post is part of the career of an imperial freedman, see *CIL* vi 8582. 2, *M. Aur. Aug. lib. Philetus*, obviously freed at the earliest under Marcus Aurelius. The known names Philetus, Asclepiades (**1271**), and Chrestio, are typical. For the posts open to imperial freedmen see G. Boulvert, *Esclaves et affranchis impériaux*, and for this post ibid. p. 295, supposed by him to have been created under Hadrian. Though it might be right, this is certainly an assumption made without adequate evidence. The control of sea-going traffic from Alexandria is an inheritance from the Ptolemies, see Strabo 2. 101, and we have no evidence of the machinery of it beyond these three references to the *procurator Phari*.

5–10 The names Erotilla and Philoromaea are unusual. For Erotilla there is no entry in Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, and in *NB* only one to P. Lond. 1157 (vol. iii, pp. 61–8, lines 165, 193, 196). This document also makes reference to a lady called Alexandra alias Philoromaea (14, 91, 100, 142, 166, 206). Philoromaea is known otherwise in the Egyptian sources only from SB V 8291 = *CIG* iii 4689, where a certain Claudia Philoromaea makes a complimentary dedication to her brother Ti. Cl. Apion. The entries in P. Lond. 1157. 165 and 193 read *κλ' Ερωτιλλα*, where *κλ'* should be expanded *Κλ(αυδία)*, though this does not appear in the index and the editors evidently took it for *κλ(ηρονόμοι)*, as shown by their reading of *[κλ]' Ερωτιλλᾶς* in 206, where again we require the nominative.

However, Erotilla has no alias, while Philoromaea has an alias but lacks a gentile name; moreover, all the items in P. Lond. 1157 relate to the Hermopolite nome. Hypotheses to explain the presence of **3118** at Oxyrhynchus could be devised, but the case for the identifications is weakened. In spite of all this the double occurrence of such unusual names makes it tempting to identify the persons.

If they are accepted, great uncertainty still surrounds the date of P. Lond. 1157. It belongs to the sixth year of an unspecified reign. On the same side of the sheet stands a census return of 9 Severus Alexander = A.D. 229/30. On the other side, the verso, one of the items is dated 7 June A.D. 246, in the third year of Philip the Arabian. The editors thought that our document should be placed as early as 6 Septimius Severus = A.D. 197/8. It is now generally assigned to 6 Severus Alexander = A.D. 226/7, e.g. N. Lewis, *Inventory of Compulsory Services*, s.v. *δεκάπρωτος*, but even so it appears to contain inconveniently early references to decaproti and the revived comarchs. These difficulties suggest that we should regard the whole papyrus as containing a medley of documents all written down for some reason at dates later than their composition. For this part 6 Philip = A.D. 248/9 would be comfortable, but for the time being the doubts surrounding it permit of no reliable conclusion about the date, cf. *JRS* 57 (1967) 136–7 and n. 29.

Even if the date were certain and the identifications secure, this document could still be twenty or thirty years on either side of it.

12 *ἐντυχών*. For this usage cf. *WB* s.v. *ἐντυγχάνω* (8).

15 {τ}οῦ. The confusion of the article and the relative pronoun is common, see Wilcken, *Archiv* 3 (1906) 322, P. Mich. VIII 518. 10 n., P. Abinn. 5. 9 n.

20 Possible are ταύτ̣[ας and ταύτ̣[αις, but the most likely sense to be sought is perhaps something like περὶ τοῦ ταῦτ̣[α e.g. καλῶς πραχθῆναι, 'concerning the proper conduct of this affair'.

3119. Official Correspondence

A 3ᴬB.4/5(a)1 9 × 25·5 cm. Third century

Incomprehensible as this fragment still remains, it has a strong claim on our attention. It mentions Christians in a 7th year, which the handwriting suggests that we ought to look for in the third rather than the fourth century. The papyrus preserves the lower margin with the beginnings of about 20 lines of cursive divided into sections distinguished by indentation. There are very scanty traces of a preceding column and three short lines of shorthand at the top of the space between the columns. The back is blank.

Lines 5–11 may be part of an official letter relating to judicial matters, perhaps a covering letter for the quotation of lines 12–20, which, as Mr. Parsons pointed out to me, consist of a letter preceded by a three-line heading of a known type—place-name and writer's name in the genitive, followed by the subject of the letter introduced by περί; see *JEA* 55 (1969) 189, lines 1–2, together with XLII **3026** 9–13 and introd. The subject begins with περὶ ἐξετάσεως π̣ό̣ρ̣[ων? and goes on in the next line after a gap of uncertain length with Χρηστιανῶν.

It would be natural to connect details of this sort with the persecution of Christians. Among the seven possible years of the third century, which are 7 Severus Alexander = 227/8, 7 Gordian III = 243/4, 7 Philip = 249 (autumn only), 7 Valerian and Gallienus = 259/60, 7 Aurelian = 275 (autumn only), 7 Probus = 281/2, 7 Diocletian = 290/1, one stands out, namely 7 Valerian and Gallienus, A.D. 259/60. During it Valerian's persecution was still continuing, at least in Egypt, see H. Grégoire, *Les Persécutions*², 138–9, though it was probably all over in Rome some time in A.D. 260 at the latest, ibid. p. 139, W. H. C. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution*, 439 n. 270. But however attractive it is to look upon this papyrus as a document of the Valerian persecution, some doubt must remain. Christianity was illegal at least from the time of Trajan's famous rescript to Pliny, and Christians were liable to be prosecuted at any time, see T. D. Barnes, 'Legislation against the Christians', *JRS* 58 (1968) 32–50.

We may also point to Eusebius, *HE* 6. 41. 1 seqq., where Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, says that persecution broke out there a full year before the edict of Decius, see *JRS* 58 (1968) 43. If so, it may well have been going on in 7 Philip, though this description applies only to a period of a few weeks after 29 August A.D. 249, cf. *Class. Phil.* 56 (1961) 6. The Saite nome is in the Western Delta. Dionysius speaks only of Alexandria, but that does not of necessity exclude the possibility envisaged here.

The papyrus also mentions a man called Aelius Gordi[anus] (20), presumably a Roman official or soldier. The only Aelius Gordianus in *PIR*² i (A 181), is recorded from a list of the advisers of Severus Alexander given in *HA*, *Vit. Sev. Alex.* 68. 1, where he is described as a relative of the emperor Gordian. If, as I at first assumed, this passage and the papyrus referred to the same person, the seventh year would be most likely to be of the reign of Severus Alexander, that is A.D. 227/8. Dr. T. D. Barnes steered me away from this pitfall by pointing out that this is one of the most suspicious sections of the *HA*, see e.g. R. Syme, 'The Bogus Names', in *Bonner HA-Colloquium* 3 (1964–5) 266–7, 269. Professor Syme has since dismissed in advance the idea that the discovery of a homonym could support the real existence of this particular person, *Emperors and Biography*, 170 n. 3, cf. 248, 279 n. 3; *Bonner HA-Colloquium* 7 (1970) 323.

. . . . .

ii

→ o[
[
[
[
μετὰ τὰ ..[
οἱ δηλωθεν[
διασημοτάτου δ[
προς̀κ'εκρίσθαι τω[
γνώριζε ἐν τῷ .[
ὃ ἐκομισάμην γρ[
(ἔτους) ζ'[
Σαίτου· Αὐρηλί[ου Ἑρμε-
περὶ ἐξετάς[ε]ως ..ρ[
Χρηστιανῶν κ.[
Αὐρήλιος Ἑρμε.[
...[...] π[ε]ρὶ οἰκο.[
ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπογεγρα[
Χ[ρ]ηστιανῶν κελευ[
..]τατου ἡγεμόνος .[
..].ου Αἰλίου Γορδι[ανοῦ

1 o[. Opposite and below this are three short lines of shorthand. The traces of the preceding column, only four or five in all, are nowhere legible enough to be worth recording.

8 προς̀κ'εκρίσθαι. Cf. XXXIII 2662 15–16, προσκρειθῆναι τοῖς τοῦ ταμείου λόγοις.

10 ὃ ἐκομισάμην γρ[άμμα or γραμματεῖον? This may be followed by e.g. ὑποτέτακται and refer to the lines below.

13 *π̣ό̣ρ̣[ων* is suggested by Mr. Parsons, together with *οἰκ̣ο̣π̣[έδων* in 16. Both of these are very attractive and quite suitable for the traces.

14 *Χρηcτιανῶν*. For the spelling cf. XLII **3053** 4 n.

15 *Ἑρμεί̣[ου* or *Ἑρμεί̣[νου* would suit. The names arc common but I have discovered no probable identification of this official. He may have been strategus of the Saite nome.

16 *οἰκ̣ο̣π̣[έδων*? See 13 n.

19 *ἡγεμόνοc*. The name of the prefect of Egypt for A.D. 259/60 is L. Mussius Aemilianus. The letter before the break may perhaps be *mu*. Since the shortest possible restoration of 18–19 would be something like *κελευ[cθέντων* (*vel sim.*) *ὑπὸ τοῦ διαcη*[19]*μο]τ̣άτου*, *ἡγεμόνοc* can hardly be linked with *Αἰλίου Γορδι̣[ανοῦ* in the next line.

20 *]̣.ου*. The trace is a horizontal ligature at top level.

3120. Receipt for Gold

36 4B.110/D(3–4)a 8·5 × 26 cm. 5 (?) April A.D. 310

This receipt for 3½ grams of gold is of interest because it settles the disputed date of the prefecture of Sossianus Hierocles, see 8–9 n., and also because of its mention of a government purchase of 28 pounds of gold, which links it with the purchase of 38 pounds of gold ordered in the headless official letter published as XVII **2106**. For these purchases of bullion in general see my article in *CÉ* 49 (1974) 163–74.

The back of the sheet is blank.

→ *ἀ(ντίγραφον).*
Cαραπᾶc χρυcοχοῦc
μυλαίῳ Λευκαδείου
δι(ὰ) Φλάμμα καὶ Φιλουμένου
μυλωναρχ(ῶν) χ(αίρειν). παρέc-
χαται εἰc τὸ δημόcιον
ὑπὲρ cυνωνῆc λι(τρῶν) κη χρυc(οῦ)
κατὰ κέλευcιν τοῦ διαcημ(οτάτου)
Ἱεροκλέωc ὑ(πὲρ) τοῦ προκ(ειμένου)
μυλέου χρυc(οῦ) καθ(αροῦ) ...
.....μο̣υ γράμματα
τρία ἥμιcυ (γίνονται) γ̣ρ̣(άμματα) γϛ'.
(ἔτουc) ιηϛϛ̣ϛ Φαρμοῦθι ῑ[[δ]].
Cαραπᾶc cεcημίωμαι.
χρ(υcοῦ) γ(ράμματα) γϛ̄'.

1 *α'* 4 *δι'* 5 *μυλωναρχ'*, *υ* corr. ex *οι*; *χ*ᴸ 5–6 l. *παρέcχατε* 7 *ϋπερ*, *λ̣*, *χρυc'* 8 *διαcημϛ* 9 *υ'*, *προ*ᴷ 10 *χρυc' καθ'* 12 *-̣ γ̣ρ̣ϛ γϛ'* 13 *Lιηϛϛ̣ϛ* 15 *χρ' γϛ γϛ̄'*

'Copy. Sarapas, goldsmith, to the mill of Leucadius, by agency of Flamma and Philumenus, master-millers, greetings. You supplied to the state treasury in respect of a (compulsory) purchase of

28 pounds of gold in accordance with an order of the most perfect Hierocles on behalf of the aforesaid mill three and a half grams of pure gold . . . : total 3½ gr. Year 18, 6, Pharmouthi 10.

'I, Sarapas, have signed. Gold 3½ gr.'

8–9 This mention of Sossianus Hierocles in a document of A.D. 310 finally removes any remaining doubt of the reading of the consulship of this year in P. Cair. Isid. 69. 32–3, see *BICS* Suppl. vi (1958) 31–2, cf. XXXIII **2668** introd. Because of a wrong reading of this consulship Hierocles is assigned to A.D. 307 in the latest list of the prefects of this period (C. Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des préfets*, 12, 88–9, 94).

The list of prefects from A.D. 302 to A.D. 312 should now run as follows:

Clodius Culcianus	7 November A.D. 302–29 May A.D. 306 (Vandersleyen, p. 12)
Valerius Victorinus	A.D. 308 (before 29 September) (XXXIII **2674** 3 n.)
Aelius Hyginus	29 September A.D. 308–22 June A.D. 309 (**2674** 3 n.)
Sossianus Hierocles	5(?) April A.D. 310 (**3120**); A.D. 310 (P. Cair. Isid. 69)
Aurelius Ammonius	A.D. 311?–17 August A.D. 312 (Vandersleyen, p. 13)

10–11 In line 10 it is the rapidity of the writing rather than the very slight damage that causes the uncertainty. Through line 11 runs a horizontal crease, caused when the document was folded roughly into two, and along it the papyrus is split for about half the width of the sheet. Warping makes it hard to place the traces of tops and bottoms of letters in their proper relationship. A possible partial reading would be ϛυν[11]ἐπι̣....μο̣υ.

It is impossible to read *ἐπιϲήμου*, 'coined'; *ἐπὶ ἀϲῆμο̣υ* might suit the traces, but the sense is hard to see, and *ϛὺν* would certainly not fit. Nor does it seem that it could be *ϛὺν ἐπι̣β(ολῇ) ἀϲῆμο̣υ*, cf. XIV **1653**. Perhaps *ϛὺν ἐπι̣.... μου*, 'along with my (fee for service?)' might be the right pattern to search for.

The mention of silver would not be certainly astray here. Compare the levy of *χρυϲὸϲ καὶ ἄϲημον* in P. Cair. Isid. 69, 70, and 127, all of A.D. 310 or near, and perhaps also the trade tax called *χρυϲάργυρον*, levied on a mill in PSI VIII 884, cf. P. Ross.-Georg. V 28. 5, 9.

A further possibility is *ϛτα̣θμο̣ῦ*, 'weight', which might be appropriate in this context, see e.g. P. Beatty Panop. 2. 219, but I cannot think of an interpretation of the other traces to suit this. As a last and very long shot, it might be possible to take the traces at the end of 10 as a cursive writing of *ζυγῷ* and to read *ἐπι̣ϛτά̣θμο̣υ* in 11; this would mean that the weighing out had been done on a balance in the charge of an *ἐπίϲταθμοϲ*, who was chiefly a police official, see P. Beatty Panop. 1. 128 n., and seems to have been identical with the *βενεφικιάριοϲ ϲτατίζων* or *stationarius*, see XVIII **2187** 8, 17.

13 The figure 18 is clear and therefore the year is certainly A.D. 309/10, year 18 of Galerius and 6 of Maximinus. The day number has apparently been altered from 14 (ιδ) to 10 (ι) by striking out the δ. Just possibly the strokes of the pen are meant to delete δ and write ϵ instead, which would be an error easier to understand, but they cannot readily be taken in this way.

3121. Account of Expenditure

3 1B.77/B(10)a 16·5 × 17·5 cm. *c.* A.D. 316–18

The expenses recorded here were incurred in connection with a gold crown delivered to Licinius on the occasion of the birthday of his son, Licinius junior. The order for the exaction was issued locally by Aurelius Antonius, *praeses Herculiae*, known to have been in office in A.D. 315 and 316, here described as an ex-*praeses*. His successor is first certainly attested on 16 July A.D. 318, but was probably already in office on 13 April A.D. 318. For the documentation of these officials, see J. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, 255. Licinius junior was proclaimed Caesar on 1 March A.D. 317, at the age of

twenty months, and was born, therefore, in July or August A.D. 315, see *PLRE* i 509–10. The possible occasions of this gift must have been his first anniversary in A.D. 316, his second in A.D. 317, or his third in A.D. 318. The last is the least likely, but it is possible that the local order was issued by Antonius before 13 April A.D. 318.

In spite of the continuing regular levies of *aurum coronarium*, see Lallemand, op. cit. 205, it is clear from the language of the document that a real gold crown was made for this special celebration. The best parallel to this in the papyri is in XII **1413** 26–37, proccedings in the town council concerning a gold crown and a statue of Victory being made for Aurelian. See A. K. Bowman in *BASP* 4 (1967) 59–74 for the *aurum coronarium* in the first three centuries.

Perhaps the most valuable information available here is the price of gold in about A.D. 316–18, 288 talents per pound, see 2 n. It must be observed that this is the only one of the early-fourth-century prices of gold bullion which reflects a real commercial transaction, though even here the city might possibly have got a favourable rate from the goldsmiths. The figure given in Diocletian's price edict, even if it could be deciphered with complete certainty, see *CÉ* 40 (1965) 206–8, 431–4, was clearly an idcal only. The rest are given in connection with government purchases of bullion, viz:

60,000 den.	A.D. 300	P. Beatty Panop. 2. 216
100,000 den.	*c.* A.D. 304–6?	XVII **2106** 20
just below 110,000 den.	*c.* A.D. 312	P. Ryl. IV 616 ii 10. See *CÉ* 49 (1974); not specifically a bullion purchase, but probably
just over 313,500 den.	A.D. 324	XII **1430** 17

The price in this document of *c.* A.D. 316–18, equivalent to 432,000 den., notably exceeds the price the government was paying in A.D. 324. Our information is so scarce that it would be impossible to deny that this might mirror some fluctuation in the market, but it is more reasonable to think that it is simply another piece of evidence indicating that the price paid by the government in purchasing bullion was below that of the open market, see my article in *CÉ* 49 (1974) 163–74.

It is not stated whose accounts these were, but it is clear from linc 10 that the expense fell on the nome and the metropolis in the proportion 2 : 1, and from an analysis of the figures it transpires that the city's share only is concerned here, see 2 n. The document might have originated from an office of the central government, from collectors or from the *exactor*, for example, or it might possibly come from the city's own financial department, the πολιτικὸς λόγος.

The writing runs across the fibres upside-down in relation to the document on the other side, also an account, of which there survives the foot and parts of two columns in a good official-looking cursive. The remains of the first column are mostly sums in denarii. The beginnings of lines in the second column mention unspecified exactions through various city guilds, a freight charge, and expenses on papyrus. The consulship

of A.D. 310 is referred to, and there are two mentions of consulships of Constantine and Licinius, of which the iteration figures are lost.

↓ ....]ωθ( ) τῷ κοι(νῷ) τῶν χρυς(οχόων) τῆς Ὀξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλ(εως) δι(ὰ)[.....
.....
χρυσο]χόων ὑ(πὲρ) τι(μῆς) χρυσοῦ ἀπὸ λί(τρας) α (οὐγκιῶν) ε γρ(αμμάτων) ι̣[η.....
.....
.....]( ) εἰς κατασκ(ευὴν) χρυσοῦ στεφ(άνου) (π)ρ(ος)κομιζομένο̣υ̣[.....
Λικινί]ῳ Σεβαστῷ ἐπὶ τῇ γενεθλείῳ τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου [.....
5 ἀκολο]ύ̣θ(ως) τοῖς γρ(αφεῖσιν) ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ ἡγεμονεύς(αντος) ὡ̣ς̣ τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ α̣[¯
.....].( ) κατατασκ̣.....απαντων (vac.) (τάλ.) [ρμβ
ὑ(πὲρ) τι(μῆς) χρυ]σ̣ο̣ῦ̣ χωροῦντος ὑ(πὲρ) ἀπουσίας τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) ἀπ[οστα]λέντ[ος] [
εἰς .....]ειαν πρὸς τὴν γενέθλειον τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου π[αι]δὸς
.....]υ δ̣ε̣σ̣πότου ἡμῶν Ἰοβίου Λικινίου τοῦ εὐσεβε[στά]τ̣ου
10 .....] τ̣ὸ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν (τρίτον) μέρος γρ(αμμάτων) δ (διμοίρου) ὡς τοῦ α¯
..... καὶ εἰς λό]γον ἐργασίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρυσοῦ ἀπ̣ὸ (δηναρίων) Ἄψος `⟦(τάλ.) δ⟧'
τὸ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν (τρίτον) μέ]ρ̣ος (δηνάρια) φρβ' ἀκολούθως τ̣[ο]ῖ̣ς̣ γρ̣(αφεῖσιν)
ὑ̣[πὸ] Ἀντων[ίο]υ
.....] (vac.) (τάλαντα) ε (δηνάρια) ρβ
.....] (τάλαντα) ρμζ (δηνάρια) ρβ (vac.)
15 .....]. ἀποσταλείσης ἀποδοχῆς
] (vac.)
]

. . . . .

1]ωθ', κο^ι, χρυ̣ʿ', οξ' πο^λ δι' 2 υ' τ^ι, λ̣, [¯, γρ∫ 3]' κατασκ', στεφ', ρ'κομιζομενο̣υ̣
5 ακολο]υ̣θ¯, γρ∫ ῡπο, ηγεμονευς' 6].', ⊏[7 υ', α' 9 δ̣ε̣ς̣ corr. ex ς̣ε̣β̣α̣?, ϊοβιου
10 γ'', γρ∫ δβ' 11 ✳Ἄψος `⟦⊏δ⟧' 12 ✳φρβ', γ̣ρ̣∫ 13 ⊏ε✳ρβ 14] ⊏̣ρμζ✳ρβ

'[There were paid out] to the guild of goldsmiths of the city of the Oxyrhynchites by agency of . . . goldsmiths, for the price of gold, out of the total of 1 lb. 5 oz. 18 gr. [the one-third share incumbent on the city, that is, for 5 oz. 22 gr., to be used] towards the manufacture of a golden crown to be delivered [to our master] Licinius Augustus for the birthday of the most noble . . . in accordance with orders written by Antonius, former *praeses*, each gram [at the price of 1 talent] . . . [142] talents.

'[For the price of gold] used to make up the wastage of the same, sent [to Nicomedia?] for the birthday of the most noble child [Licinius, son of] our master Jovius Licinius, the most pious [Imperator, out of the total of 14 grams] the one-third share incumbent on the city, that is, for $4\frac{2}{3}$ grams, each gram [at the price of 1 talent, and on] account of working the same gold, out of the total of 1,776 denarii, [the one-third share incumbent on the city, that is,] 592 denarii, in accordance with the orders written by Antonius . . . [Total] 5 talents 92 denarii.

'[Grand total] 147 talents 92 denarii.

'. . . of the acknowledgement of receipt sent back.'

1 Restore ἀνηλ]ώθ(ησαν) or something similar. Note that the extent of the text missing on the left is not quite certain. In 7–8 it seems enough to restore ἀπ[οστα]λέντ[ος] [8] [εἰς Νικομήδ]ειαν and that fits well with the first surviving words in 2, 4, and 5, but all of these supplements could be made longer if necessary.

The end of the line could be completed in various ways, perhaps with two or more goldsmiths' names, or one name and title, e.g. δι(ὰ) [Χ, μηνιάρχου [2] χρυσο]χόων, or a description alone, e.g. δι(ὰ) [τῶν προχειρισθέντων [2] χρυσο]χόων. Elsewhere the ends of the lines are not very even and abbreviations are freely used. If it were a reasonably full line about 15 letters would be missing.

2 ἀπὸ λί(τρας) α (οὐγκιῶν) ε γρ(αμμάτων) ι̣[η. The restored figure of 18 grams depends on the following analysis of the figures which survive below.

Firstly it is obvious that 592 denarii (12) represent one-third of 1,776 denarii (11), and that they are likely to be the city's one-third share, cf. 10, of the total fee for working the gold (11). The 592 denarii have played an obvious part in the sub-total of 5 tal. 92 den. (13). If we subtract them from the sub-total, we are left with 4 tal. 1,000 den. = $4\frac{2}{3}$ talents, a figure which relates significantly to the $4\frac{2}{3}$ grams of gold (10). In fact, the price of gold seems at that point to be 1 talent per gram, or 288 talents per lb. Then if we subtract the sub-total of 5 tal. 92 den. from the grand total of 147 tal. 92 den. (14), we are left with 142 talents, which should be identical with the sub-total lost in line 6, and which is likely to represent the price of 142 grams of gold. The surviving figures in line 2 of 1 lb. 5 oz. *n* gr. are equivalent to 408 + *n* grams. Since line 10 has alerted us to the significance of the city's one-third share in this account, we shall be justified in restoring the figure for the grams as 18 (ι̣[η), in order to bring the total weight up to 426 grams, 3 times 142 grams.

Apparently the whole crown was to weigh 426 grams (1 lb. 5 oz. 18 gr.), to which the city was to contribute one-third by paying the goldsmiths 1 talent per gram for 142 grams (5 oz. 22 gr.). The wastage, see 7 n., amounted in all to 14 grams. The city paid for its one-third share of it, amounting to $4\frac{2}{3}$ grams, at the same price of 1 talent per gram, and likewise paid one-third of the goldsmiths' fee for working the crown, 592 denarii out of the total of 1,776 denarii.

The completion of the gaps still presents difficulties. In some cases ἀπό means 'weighing', see LSJ s.v. III. 2, but here it probably means 'out of the total of', cf. 11, and should be followed in the gap by the figures for one-third of the total weight, that is, (οὐγκιῶν) ε γρ(αμμάτων) κβ. We also need somewhere in these lines a reference to the city's share of one-third, which appears in 10, and very likely in 12, expressed as τὸ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν γ″ μέρος. With εἰς κατασκ(ευήν) something like the χωροῦντος of line 7 would also be desirable. To restore all these elements would make the lines longer than elsewhere. Just possibly a satisfactory explanation lies hidden in the unread passage in line 6.

The sense to be sought is represented by the following text: ἀπὸ λί(τρας) α (οὐγκιῶν) ε γρ(αμμάτων) ιη τὸ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν (τρίτον) μέρος, (οὐγκιῶν) ε γρ(αμμάτων) κβ χωρούντων εἰς κατασκ(ευήν) κτλ. 'out of the total of 1 lb. 5 oz. 18 gr. the one-third share incumbent on the city, that is, for 5 oz. 22 gr., to be used towards the manufacture' etc.

3 (π)ρ(ος)κομιζομένο̣υ̣. For this abbreviation of πρός cf. XL **2915** 20 n. At the end of the line restore τῷ δεσπότῃ ἡμῶν or the like.

4 Supply either [παιδός, cf. 8, or possibly [Καίσαρος, see 8 n.

5 Ἀντωνίου. See introd. and for references J. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, 255.

5–6 Possibly we should restore ὡς τοῦ α[⁻ [6] γρ(άμματος) (ταλάντου)] α̣′, 'each gram at the price of 1 talent', cf. 10–11. This leaves line 5 somewhat short at the end, but only very slightly so in comparison with 10.

6 κατατασκ̣.....απαντων. These letters are comparatively undamaged and do not seem particularly cursive, but they remain intractable. After κ̣ there may be an abbreviation sign rather than a letter. κατὰ τὰς κ̣(ελεύσεις) ⟨κ⟩ο̣ι̣ν̣ῇ ἁπάντων? Possibly there is a diplography for κατασκ(ευή), or a cognate, but this does not solve the problem. It might be reasonable to expect something equivalent to κατὰ τὰς δυνάμεις ἁπάντων, cf. XVII **2106** 10–11 ἀπαιτῆσαι παρ' ἑκάστου κατὰ δύναμειν.

7 As a technical term ἀπουσία refers to the wastage that occurs when metals are melted down, see LSJ s.v. II and Suppl., *WB* i s.v. 3, iv s.v. 2. Cf. P. Col. Zen. 113. 33–4, where the word refers to the loss of weight resulting from the cleaning of wool. In the present case a weight of 426 grams was purchased, and then worked into the form of a crown, losing 14 grams in the process. It seems that 14 grams of bullion were sent off to Licinius with the crown at the expense of the city and the nome.

8 Since Nicomedia was Licinius' chief residence in this period, by far the most likely restoration is *εἰc Νικομήδ]ειαν*, but admittedly it cannot be certain.

τοῦ ἐπιφανεcτάτου π[αι]δόc looks like the equivalent of the rare and late title *nobilissimus puer*, on which see H.-G. Pflaum, in 'Recherches sur les structures sociales dans l'antiquité classique' (*Colloques nationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* [Caen, 25–6 April 1969: ed. C. Nicolet] Paris, 1970), p. 162.

Though it is most often linked with the title of *Caesar*, the basic connotation of *nobilissimus* is 'born in the purple', see Pflaum, ibid. p. 160, so that there is a possibility that Licinius junior is here not yet designated Caesar. If so, the year of the presentation would necessarily be A.D. 316, but the argument is far from certain. He may have been called *τοῦ ἐπιφανεcτάτου* [*Καίcαροc* in 4, but *τοῦ ἐ. παιδόc . . . Λικινίου* here. On *nobilissimus* in general see *RE* xvii 791–800.

9 The beginning of the line might be supplemented simply with the genitive article and an adjective, 'son of our . . . master' etc., or perhaps with *Λικινίου, υἱοῦ το]ῦ δ̣ε̣cπότου ἡμῶν κτλ.*, 'the most noble child, Licinius, son of our master' etc. An alternative pattern might be *κατὰ κέλευcιν το]ῦ δ̣ε̣cπότου ἡμῶν κτλ.*

Ἰοβίου. Cf. *RE* ix 2015 s.v. Iovius; of Licinius *ILS* 676. In the papyri it seems to have occurred only once, in P. Théad. 49. 2, where it went unrecognized. The form given is *ιουιου*, interpreted 'peut-être *Οὐαλερίου*'. No correction has appeared in BL i–v. A photograph of the papyrus shows that its reading was correctly reported. Probably it should be emended to *Ἰ⟨ο⟩ουίου*.

9–10 Supplement perhaps *τοῦ εὐcεβε[cτά]του* [10] [*Αὐτοκρ(άτορος)*. Cf. P. Théad. 49. 2 *τοῦ cεβαcμιωτάτου Αὐτοκράτορος*. The writing here, cursive though it is, will certainly not suit *cεβαcμιωτάτου*.

After *Αὐτοκρ(άτορος)* we probably need also *ἀπὸ γρ(αμμάτων) ιδ*, 'from the total of 14 grams', cf. 2, 11.

10–11 For the same proportion between the shares of the city and the nome see P. Beatty Panop. 1. 379 and note. This is apparently the first example of it which does not refer to the *annona militaris*. Restore approximately, on the basis of the analysis in 2 n., *ὡc τοῦ α̅* [11] [*γρ(άμματος) (ταλάντου) α καὶ εἰc λό]γον*.

11 '[[*(ταλ.) δ*]]'. This figure was apparently a failed attempt to supply explicitly the total cost of $4\frac{2}{3}$ grams at 1 talent per gram, i.e. 4 talents 1,000 den. It may have been added successfully somewhere where the papyrus is now lost. There is a narrow gap after δ, where some vertical fibres are lost, but it looks as if the figure was struck through before the rest was added.

13 Supply perhaps *τοῦ ἡγεμονεύcαντοc*, see 5.

14 Supply something like *γίνονται ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*.

15 *ἀποδοχῆc*. Not in *WB* i. The three examples recorded in S. Daris, *Spoglio lessicale*, are all doubtful. Most probably it means an acknowledgement of receipt from one of Licinius' officials. The expression seems a little too elaborate to refer to a receipt from the goldsmiths. The whole line was perhaps a note that the account had been checked against the terms of the official acknowledgement.

3122. Undertaking on Oath

18 2B.65/C(1–2a) 17 × 24 cm. A.D. 322

The date formula of this papyrus is an example of the type linking a *post consulatum* of Licinius (VI) and Licinius Caesar (II) to the second year of the short era denoted by unspecified 'consuls to be designated'. The evidence for the sixth consulship of Licinius is discussed by Kase in P. Princ. Roll, pp. 32–6. About the extent of the era as at present known, years 2 to 4, there is no doubt, cf. e.g. P. Oslo III 138, where the regnal year is also given.

The transaction is drawn up in the form of an undertaking on oath directed to a certain Valens by three persons. One, Panotbeos, undertakes to farm $7\frac{1}{2}$ aruras 'per-

taining' (*αἱρουσῶν*) to his wife and her sister. The other two agree, together as one party, to farm another $7\frac{1}{2}$ aruras. All fifteen aruras were previously farmed by Cornelius, the father of Panotbeos' wife and of her sister, and are to be farmed again at the rent paid before.

It is not easy to say what the circumstances of this transaction were. The mention of rent shows that a lease was involved, and half of the area is said to 'pertain to' the daughters of Cornelius. A possible hypothesis would be that Cornelius died during the term of his lease, whereupon his daughters, who inherited half of his responsibility, chose the husband of one of them to discharge it for the rest of the term. The two persons who are to farm the other half will be the heirs to it or deputies appointed for the purpose.

Valens, the addressee, may well have been a prytanis, see 3 n. It might be, therefore, that the land in question belonged to the city, cf. A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils*, 91, with references to offers to lease submitted to the council or to the prytanis. Or, since the oath suggests an element of compulsion, it may have been a case of the forced allocation of state land, called at this period *ἐπινέμησις* instead of the earlier *ἐπιμερισμός*, see G. Poethke, *Epimerismos*, 63–6. The council was sometimes concerned with the administration of state land at least to the extent of appointing local stewards or inspectors, see Bowman, ibid. 83.

The back is blank.

→ *μετ[ὰ τὴ]ν ὑπατείαν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Λικινίου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ϛ″ καὶ Λικινίου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ βϛ″ τοῖς ἀποδιχθησομένοις ὑπάτοις τὸ βϛ″.*

Οὐάλεντι ἀπὸ πρωτηκτόρ[ω]ν καὶ πρ.( ) (vac.)

Αὐρήλιοι Πανοτβέως Ὀρσενούφι̣ο̣[ς] μ̣η(τρὸς) Τ̣[α]ᾶτος καὶ Ἀφύγχις Ἀφυγχίου μη(τρὸς) Θαήσιος

5 *ἀμφότεροι ἀπὸ κώμης Ποσόμπους ε̣ π̣[άγου] τοῦ Ὀξυρυ[γ]χίτου νομοῦ καὶ Κοπρεὺς Δι-*

οσκ[ό]ρου μη(τρὸς) Τενγώγιος καταγεινόμενος ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Ποσόμπ[ο]υ̣ς κώμῃ χαίρειν.

ὁμολογοῦμεν ὀμνύντες τὸν σεβάσμιον θε̣ῖ̣ον ὅρκον τῶν δε̣σποτῶν ἡμῶν ἀηττήτων βασιλέων τὴν γεωργίαν ποιήσασθαι, ἐμὲ μὲν τὸν Πανοτβέουν ἀρουρῶν ἑπτὰ ἡμίσους τῶν αἱρουσῶ̣ν τ̣ῇ ἡμετέρᾳ συμβίου Θερμούθι καὶ τῇ

10 *ταύτης ἀδελφῇ Θαισοῦτι, ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀφύγχιον καὶ Κοπρέα εἰς τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς μέρος ὁμοίως ἔχεσθαι τῆς γεωργίας ἑτέρων ἀρουρῶν ἑπτὰ ἡμίσους ἅσπερ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀρούρας δεκαπέντε προγεωργηθείσας ὑπὸ Κορνηλίου τοῦ τ̣[ῶ]ν περὶ τὴν Θερμούτιον καὶ Θαι[σο]ῦ̣ν̣ πατρὸς ἐπὶ τῷ προτελουμένῳ*

4 μη', μη' ι̣μη' 8 αητ'τητων 9 l. συμβίῳ, Θερμούθει 10 θαϊσουτι 13 θαϊ-[σο]υ̣ν̣

φό̣[ρῳ] ἀ̣νυπερθέτως εἰς τὸ ἐ̣ν [μηδεν]ὶ μεμφθῆναι ἢ ἔνοχο[ι] εἴημεν
15 .....].[.....] (vac.)
c. 25 letters]..
(m. 2) *c.* 20 letters]. καὶ Κοπρεὺς
c. 22 letters]τ̣α̣ π̣ρ̣ο̣γεωρ-
c. 20 letters]μένων ἀρουρῶν
20 *c.* 20 letters ἐπ]ερωτηθέντες ὡ-
μολογήσαμεν. Αὐρήλιος . . . ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτ]ῶν μὴ εἰδ(ότων) γράμ(ματα).

21 ειδ' γραμ̣ς

'After the consulship of our lords Licinius Augustus for the sixth time and Licinius the most noble Caesar for the second time; under the consuls to be designated for the second time.

To Valens, *ex protectoribus* and (ex-?) prytanis,

Aurelius Panotbeos, son of Orsenouphis, mother Taas, and Aurelius Aphynchis, son of Aphynchius, mother Thaësis, both from the village of Posompoys, in the fifth *pagus* of the Oxyrhynchite nome, and Copreus, son of Dioscorus, mother Tengogis, residing in the same village of Posompoys, greeting.

We declare swearing the august divine oath of our lords the unconquered emperors to undertake the farming, I, Panotbeos, of 7½ aruras pertaining to my wife, Thermouthis, and her sister Thaïsous, and we, the party of Aphynchius and Copreus, for our part likewise to be bound to the farming of another 7½ aruras, which aruras, 15 in all, farmed before by Cornelius, the father of the party of Thermoution and Thaïsous, (we shall farm) at the rent paid before without arrears so as to be blamed in no respect or may we be liable (to the divine oath). In the aforesaid consulship, (month), (day). (2nd hand) . . . and Copreus . . . in answer to the formal question we gave our assent. I, Aurelius . . . wrote on their behalf because they do not know letters.'

3 πρ̣.'. Only the top left part of the letter is preserved, but it should be a vowel and it looks very much like *hypsilon*. If so, only πρυ(τάνει) or πρυ(τανεύσαντι) is likely. If πρυ(τάνει) is right, we may compare the offers to lease city land addressed to the senate by way of the prytanis in C. P. Herm. 119 recto v and CPR 39. The sign of abbreviation is puzzling. Basically it looks like the high full curve which usually signifies that the letter *pi* is the last written letter in a suspension, e.g. το' = τόπος and cognates, but this sign is used here also in μη' = μη(τρός), lines 4 and 6, and in ειδ' = εἰδ(ότων), line 21. At this point there are more ink marks inside the loop of the abbreviation sign. It might be that they are intended to distinguish πρυ(τανεύσαντι) from πρυ(τάνει) and represent e.g. -ε̣υ̣ς, but this is very doubtful in the absence of a specific parallel. Professor Youtie has drawn my attention to R. Seider, *Paläogr. d. gr. Papyri*, Bd. I, Tafel XXI, Nr. 35, where οικο'δ represents οἰκόπ(ε)δ(α). This would be a parallel for a suspension assisted by the addition of a significant letter of the omitted part of the word.

5 *Ποσόμπους*: cf. X **1285** 85, XIV **1688** 10, P. Wisc. I 13. 5; at an earlier date it was in the eastern toparchy (**1285**), which is known to have been partly co-extensive with the 5th *pagus* (XII **1425** 4 n.). It is indeclinable except in **1285** 85, where the form *Ποσομπόεως* suggests that the ending *-ους* is disyllabic.

9 *Θερμούθι*. Below she is called by the diminutive *Θερμούτιον* (13).

12–13 ἅ̓σπερ . . . πατρός. It seems that a verb—e.g. γεωργήσομεν—has been omitted from this clause.

15 This line probably contained only τῷ θείῳ ὅρκῳ, cf. X **1261** 12, **1265** 24. The trace is not very distinctive; read perhaps τῷ θείῳ ὅρ]κ̣[ῳ.

16 Supply ὑπατείας τῆς προκειμένης cf. VI **900** 20, X **1261** 12, **1265** 25, or ὑ. τ. αὐτῆς, cf. P. Oslo III 138. 18, followed by month and day. The traces are two bold strokes denoting the numeral of the day.

17–21 The second hand is less densely packed than the first; hence lower estimates here of the numbers of letters lost.

18]τ̣α̣ π̣ρ̣ο̣γεωρ-. The dotted letters have been altered.]τ̣α̣ is doubtful, but τάς, τῶν, and ταῖς seem mpossible.

21 The restoration as written in full is too long for the lacuna. Probably there were several abbreviations, e.g. αυρ′ or αυρη^λ, εγρϛ, υ^ν. The traces suggest that at least αὐτ]ῷ̣ν was written in full.

3123. Letter to a *Praeses*

39 3B.78/A(1)a 13·5 × 27 cm. 29 March A.D. 322

This and the following text relate to the Lycopolite nome. Both are written in good large official cursives and may have originated in the office of the same strategus/*exactor*. Their discovery at Oxyrhynchus remains a mystery, see 3 n.

This one is simply an acknowledgement of receipt of instructions from the *praeses* and a promise to execute them. The instructions are repeated, probably without much variation, from the text of the letter written by the *praeses* to the logistes, *exactor*, and prohedrus of the city, but the damage to the left edge has caused several uncertainties. All that emerges is that the *praeses* was concerned to avoid any irregularities in connection with the marriage of a certain Apollonia. No doubt there was a history of litigation behind this exchange of letters.

On the back written downwards along the fibres was an address now much damaged, with two thick horizontal lines drawn beneath it. The earlier traces, Ο̣[ὐ]α̣-[λε]ρ̣[ίῳ, fit very well with what is expected, namely Οὐαλερίῳ Οὐικτωρινιανῷ, perhaps followed by a title, but the later remains are too scanty to be assigned to letters with any confidence.

The date clause is of a rare type, see 16–18 n., and provides the earliest date in the term of this *praeses*.

→ Οὐ]αλερίῳ Οὐικτωρινιανῷ τῷ
δια]σημοτάτῳ (vac.) ἡγεμόνι
...].....α̣τ̣ε̣.ος ἐξάκτωρ Λυκοπολίτου χαίρειν.
ἐπι]σ̣τολὴν γραφεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῆς σῆς ἀνδρείας,
ἡγε]μ̣ὼν κύριε, λογιστῇ καὶ ἐξάκτορι καὶ
προ]έδρῳ Λυκοπολίτου περὶ τοῦ παρα-
φυλ]ά̣ξαι μηδὲν ἄτοπον μηδὲ ὑπεναν-
τίο]ν̣ τῆς δημοσίας ἐπιστήμης
...]..ν̣[.]ς γενέσθαι ἐπὶ τῷ 'γάμῳ' Ἀπολλωνίας
..].ο̣ς Φι̣λαδέλφου ἐκομισάμην διὰ
Ἑρ]μ̣αίσ̣κου β(ενε)φ(ικιαρίου) καὶ ἀκόλουθα πράξω τοῖς

1 ουϊκτωρινιανω 11 ερ]μ̣αϊσ̣κου

κε]κελευcμένοις καὶ ἵν' εἰδῇc ἀναφέρω.

(m. 2) ἐ̣ρ̣ρ̣ῶcθαί cε
εὔ]χομαι, ἡγεμὼν
κ]ύριε.
(vac.)

(m. 3?) μετὰ τ]ὴν ὑπ̣α̣τ̣ε̣ί̣αν τῶν δεcποτῶν ἡμῶν Λικιννίου
Cεβα]c̣τ̣ο̣ῦ [τὸ ϛ'] κ̣α̣ὶ Λικιννίου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίcαροc
τὸ β',] τ̣ο̣ῖ̣ς μ̣έ̣[λλουcι] ὑπάτοις δευτέρᾳ ἀμοιβῇ, Φαρμοῦθι γ̄.

'To Valerius Victorinianus, the most perfect *praeses*, (Septimius Craterus?), *exactor* of the Lycopolite nome, greetings. I have received by the hand of Hermaiscus, *beneficiarius*, a letter written by your Excellency, lord *praeses*, to the logistes and *exactor* and prohedrus of the Lycopolite nome instructing them to take precautions that nothing improper or contrary to public order shall occur (by agency of any person?) in connection with the wedding of Apollonia . . . Philadelphus, and I shall take action in accordance with the orders that have been given, and I am reporting for your information. I pray for your health, lord *praeses*.'

'After the consulship of our masters Licinius Augustus, for the sixth time, and Licinius the most noble Caesar, for the second time, under the intending consuls, for the second cycle, Pharmuthi, 3.'

1 On this *praeses Thebaidos* see D. Hagedorn, *Proceedings of the XIIth International Congress of Papyrology* (Ann Arbor, 1968), 210, with P. Panop. 24. 1, 27. 1 (*ZPE* 10 (1973) 117, 126). This document provides the earliest date for him, 29 March A.D. 322, see 16–18 n., lengthening by over a year his known period of office. It is suggested in P. Vindob. Worp 8. 3 n. (p. 74) that he was in office also in A.D. 321, but the argument is not conclusive.

3 The inventory numbers indicate that this document and **3124** were found close together. Both originate from officials of the Lycopolite nome, here called *exactor*, there strategus. The titles strategus and *exactor* are borne by a single official at this period, see J. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, 118–26. One might well expect to find here, therefore, the name of Septimius Craterus (**3124** 4). The space could accommodate it, especially if the line were set out a little into the left margin, i.e. Cεπτ]ίμιος Κ̣ρ̣ά̣τ̣ερος. The remains at the beginning are minute and illegible. At the end, however, -α̣τ̣ε̣ι̣ος would be the obvious reading. The third letter from the end is undamaged and would naturally be taken to be *iota*, not *rho*. It has a narrow loop because the tip of the cross-bar of *epsilon* has been drawn sharply up and back and the *iota* then made perpendicularly down through the horizontal, but the result is exactly like other ligatured *iota*s. The *rho*s tend to have narrow loops and sometimes have short descenders, but it would be hard to read *rho* here. I remain in some perplexity, but I think we should continue to envisage the possibility that the same name was intended in both places. Perhaps this copyist mistook *rho* for *iota*, or the scribe of **3124** made the reverse mistake, though Κρατίος, of which Κρατείος would be a normal phonetic spelling, is a very uncommon name.

Nothing in the texts links them with Oxyrhynchus. It is a natural suspicion that the strategus/*exactor* was an Oxyrhynchite who served as a strategus outside his own nome, see *JEA* 8 (1922) 166–73, and who brought these letters back to Oxyrhynchus when he came home, but the evidence shows that the rule in force in earlier days that the strategus should serve in a nome not his own was abandoned after the reforms of Diocletian, see J. D. Thomas, *CÉ* 35 (1960) 266–7.

The documents are probably duplicates, kept on file by the sender. One is addressed to the *praeses* of the Thebaid, resident probably at Hermopolis (P. Beatty Panop. pp. xix–xx) or at Antinoopolis (J. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, 45–7), both north of Lycopolis, but still south of Oxyrhynchus; the other is addressed to bakery managers in Ptolemais, south of Lycopolis.

4 ἀνδρείαc. Cf. H. Zilliacus, *Untersuchungen zu den abstrakten Anredeformen*, 42.

6 προ]έδρῳ. On this title see A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, 59–60.

7–8 *ὑπεναν[τίο]ν τῆς δημοσίας ἐπιστήμης*. With *ὑπεναντίος* the dative is more usual, but cf. XXII **2348** 38–9, SB III 7033. 70?, V 8393. 10. Mr. Parsons suggested to me that this strange expression was a translation of some Latin formula, and a search revealed that the glossaries at times equate *ἐπιστήμη* with *disciplina* (*CGL* ii 51. 2, 311. 15; iii 25. 26, 198. 28). The phrase *adversus publicam disciplinam* can be cited from *Cod. Iust.* 9. 30. 1 = *Cod. Theod.* 9. 33. 1, a constitution of Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius against *seditiosi*, cf. A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law*, 694 s.v. *seditiosi*. A few other references to *publica disciplina* in the sense of 'public order' are given in *TLL* s.v. *disciplina*, col. 1326. See also *Reallexikon f. Antike u. Christentum*, ii, col. 1219.

Very much the same sort of general prohibition is given in P. Théad. 13 i 11–13, ii 1–11. This is a Latin judgement delivered in court by a *praeses*, followed by a Greek translation, in which, incidentally, *ὑπεναντίον* is deleted before *παρ[ὰ] τὸν τοῦ δικαίου λόγον* (= *contra iustitiae rationem*).

9–10 No perfectly satisfactory readings have emerged here. In 9]τ̣ι̣ν̣[ο]ς seems suitable, *ν* being almost unavoidable. It is possible to accept *διά*] τ̣ι̣ν̣[ο]ς, though the sense is weak and one might expect rather *διὰ μηδενός*.

In 10 ọ is virtually certain and there is a ligature joining it from the left at the top. I have thought of no suitable word to make Apollonia into the daughter or bride of Philadelphus.

11 For *beneficiarii* see P. Cair. Isid. 63 introd.; this one was apparently on the staff of the *praeses Thebaidos*.

16–18 For the date see XII **1430** 1 n. and XLIII **3122** introd. The reading at the beginning of 18 is somewhat doubtful, but this wording occurs in P. Cair. Inv. 10622, from Hermopolis, and *μέλλουσι* occurs also in P. Ant. I 39. 1,[1] where the editor suggested that possibly this use of the word was peculiar to the Antinoite and Hermopolite nomes. P. Panop. 16. 6 (*ZPE* 8 (1971) 210) and this occurrence from the Lycopolite, if rightly read, show that we must widen the area, but it may still be a usage confined to the Thebaid. P. Cair. Inv. 10622 is the only other document to have the expression *δευτέρᾳ ἀμοιβῇ*. [Add now also P. Panop. 26 = *ZPE* 10 (1973) 121–6.]

These three lines might be written by the same man who wrote 1–12, but the body of the document is in a large official cursive with generous curves and flourishes and the date is, as often, in a smaller more rapid cursive. Lines 13–15 are most probably the autograph of the *exactor*.

3124. Letter of a Strategus

39 3B.78/O(1–2)a 15 × 15 cm. *c.* A.D. 322?

By this letter the strategus announces to persons in charge of bakeries in Ptolemais that a quantity of wheat on its way to them to be made into bread for the army has reached Lycopolis. Probably this is part of the routine administration of the *annona militaris*. At least, nothing is known of any extraordinary military activity in the Thebaid in this period. The assigned date is based on the relationship between this document and **3123**, see introd. and 3 n.

For the transport of bread for the troops cf. VIII **1115**. For ordinary deliveries of grain to be baked into bread for the army see P. Flor. I 60, P. Théad. 31. 26–40. For a special bread supply for troops accompanying Diocletian on a visit to the Thebaid compare P. Beatty Panop. 1. 332–7, 374–7.

[1] The wording of P. Panop. 16. 6—*τέταρτον μέλλουσιν ὑπάτοις*—casts doubt on the restoration of P. Ant. I 39. 1 as [το(ῖς) *τρίτ*]*ον μέλλουσιν ὑπάτοις*. From an inspection of the original I concluded that either [*τρί*]*τον* (A.D. 323) or [*τέταρ*]*τον* (A.D. 324) is possible. The trace of a ligature, not noticed in *ed. pr.*, excludes *δεύτερον*, already unlikely because of the mention of the tenth indiction, see *ed. pr.* 1 n. [Cf. now also *ZPE* 10 (1973) 122.]

→ Αὐρ]ηλίοις Φ̣[λαβ]ιανῷ̣, διασημοτάτῳ, καὶ
Διονυσο[δ]ώρῳ̣, κρατίστῳ̣, ἐφεστῶσι
τοῖς κατὰ Πτολεμαΐδα δημοσίοις ἀρτοκοπίοις,
Σε]πτίμιος Κράτερος, στρατηγὸς Λυκοπολίτου,
χαίρειν.
ἀ]νηνέχθησαν καὶ νῦν διὰ κτηνῶν
εἰς τ]ὴν παρ' ὑμῖν γινομένην στρα-
τιω]τικὴν ἀρτοποιίαν διὰ Λυκαρίω-
νος Ἀνουβίωνος ἀνακομιστοῦ
πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι τριακόσιαι δώδεκα
καὶ ἵν' εἰδῆτε ἐπιστέλλω ὑμῖν, φίλ-
τατοι. (m. 2) ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὔχομαι. διὰ βοηθοῦ.
Back → Αὐρηλίοις Φλαβιανῷ καὶ Δ̣[ιο]υ̣σοδώρῳ̣.

11 ὔμιν

'To Aurelius Flavianus, most perfect, and Dionysodorus, most excellent, in charge of state bakeries in Ptolemais, Septimius Craterus, strategus of the Lycopolite nome, greetings. There were delivered just now on baggage animals, for the military baking that is taking place under your care, by agency of Lycarion, son of Anubion, conveyer, three hundred and twelve artabas of wheat, and for your information I write to you, dearest colleagues.'

(2nd hand) 'I pray for your health. (By agency of an assistant).'

Address. 'To Aurelius Flavianus and Aurelius Dionysodorus'.

1–2 This is the period when the titles *perfectissimus* and *egregius* began to be diffused more widely, cf. *RE* xix 668 seqq. Possibly Flavianus and Dionysodorus were members of the curial class who had performed a satisfactory number of liturgies, cf. *Cod. Theod.* 12. 1. 5. It is also interesting to note a pronouncement by Constantine which shows that the perfectissimate could be acquired abusively by bakers, *Cod. Iust.* 12. 32 'codicillis perfectissimatus fruantur, qui impetraverint, si abhorreant a condicione servili, vel fisco vel curiae obnoxii non sint, vel si pistores non fuerint' etc.

On the interest which the Roman government took in bakers see A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law*, 631–2 s.v. *pistores*.

9 ἀνακομιστοῦ. *Add. lexx.* Compare the uses of ἀνακομιδή in XIV **1412** 6, ἀ. τῆς εὐθενείας τῶν στρατιωτῶν, P. Preis. 13. 9, 14. 8, 16. 4, 17. 6, ἐπιμέλεια καὶ ἀ. οἴνου ἀννώνης στρατιωτῶν. Evidently he was employed in conveying goods for the military *annona*, cf. the ἀναπομποὶ ἄρτου of VIII **1115**.

The order of words tells against the possibility that the form in the text derives from the equally unattested and equally regularly formed ἀνακόμιστος 'transported (upstream?)', which would have to agree with πυροῦ.

3125. Official Correspondence

A 6ᴬB.6/4(a) 25 × 26 cm. A.D. 325

A new *magister rei privatae* with the unusual name of Flavius Graphicianus is addressed in this document by the logistes and strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome. Damage and unfamiliar terminology (ῥελατωρίας, 6 n.) make interpretation difficult,

but it seems that in response to an edict of the *magister* the nome officials were sending to him some persons, perhaps minor officials who had completed their term of duty, who were bringing with them documents, the *ῥελατωρίαι*.

The form of the consular date is of unusual interest (9 n.).

The handwriting is a good-sized official cursive, except for the date, which is in a smaller, more rapid hand. Blank spaces on both sides of the sheet have also been used subsequently for scribbled accounts, mostly illegible. They seem to begin in the bottom left of the front, where one can read written upwards across the fibres *λόγο[c] cίτου πραθέντος* [2] *ἐν τῇ ἐξέδρᾳ* [3] *Φαῶφι ιζ′*.

→ *Φλαουίωι Γραφικιανῷ[ι τῶι διασημοτάτωι μαγίστρωι πριουάτης*
Οὐαλέριος Διοσκουρίδης λογιστὴς καὶ Αὐρήλιος Ἑρμείας στρατη[γὸς
Ὀξυρυγχίτου χ[α]ίρειν [
πρόσταγμα πληροῦντες τοῦ σοῦ μεγαλείου, μάγιστρε κύριε, ...[c. 3 letters
καὶ *Ἰσὰκ Διοσκόρ[ου ..]....[...]..... γενομένους [c.* 8
των ἐπαγομένους τὰς ῥελατωρίας τῆς γενομένης [c. 8
σεως ἀνεστείλαμεν πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἀνδρεία[ν c. 11
παρ' ἡμῖν χιρογραφία[.. ῖ]ν' εἰδέναι ἔχοι. [
(m. 2) *ὑπατίας Πρόκλου καὶ Παυλίνου τῶν λαμπροτάτων Φαρμοῦθι [*
Back →
(m. 1) *Φλαουίῳ Γραφικιανῶι τῶι διασημοτάτῳι μαγίστρῳι πριουάτης.*

5 ïcak

'To Flavius Graphicianus, the most perfect *magister privatae*, Valerius Dioscurides, logistes, and Aurelius Hermeias, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, greeting. Fulfilling the edict of your Highness, lord *magister*, we sent to your Excellency, (along with?) the contracts in our hands (A, son of B?), and Isaac, son of Dioscurus, (and C., son of D?), formerly . . ., bringing with them receipts for the (delivery?) that has taken place, that you might have opportunity of knowing.'

'In the consulship of Proculus and Paulinus, *clarissimi*, Pharmuthi . . .'

(Back) 'To Flavius Graphicianus, the most perfect *magister privatae*.'

1 *μαγίστρῳ πριουάτης*. See *JJP* 15 (1965) 157–61, J. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, 260. Add another holder in XXXIII **2665** 13, **2673** 13.

2 *Διοσκουρίδης*. See *JJP* 7–8 (1954) 104. Add perhaps XII **1509**. In line 9 we have the latest known date for him. Another logistes, Flavius Leucadius, is known for this year (I 52). Since the month here is Pharmuthi, we can now choose *Με[σορή* rather than *Με[χείρ* in 52 20. In the earlier part of that line restore *ὑπατείας τῆ]ς προκ(ειμένης)*, cf. e.g. I **66** 13.

Ἑρμείας. See I **60** 1 (17 August A.D. 323), XII **1430** 2, 25 (31 July A.D. 324). This is his latest known date.

4 After *κύριε* there were perhaps three names—but only two, if *καὶ Ἰσάκ* is the end of an alias—in the accusative case, objects of *ἀνεστείλαμεν* (7), each with patronymic, i.e. 'we sent up A, son of B, and Isaac, son of Dioscorus, and C, son of D.' *γενομένους* (5) seems to imply that there followed an official title which the three held previously, e.g. *ἀπαιτητάς, διαδότας, ἐπιμελητάς*, etc. *-των* (6) is perhaps the end of a genitive defining the sphere of their official activity, as we often see *ἐπιμεληταὶ κριθῆς, οἴνου* etc.

6 *ῥελατωρίας*. There are only two occurrences in the dictionaries, one in Greek and one in Latin:

Suid. *ῥελατορία, ἀναφορά*; *Cod. Theod.* 13. 5. 8 'navicularios . . . relatorias traditarum specierum intra decem dies a susceptoribus percipere . . . (et) . . . ostensis relatoriis nullam prorsus inquietudinem sustinere'. *ἀναφορά* would probably mean 'report'; in the second passage *relatoriae* seem to be more specificially receipts which the shipmasters were required to bring back to their principals.

Another fourth-century document using the word three times in six far from complete lines has recently been published in *Studia Papyrologica* 9 (1970) 37–8.

7 *-ceως*. Comparing *relatoriae traditarum specierum* restore perhaps *[παραδό]ceως vel sim.*

ἀνεστείλαμεν. Perhaps an epistolary past, the letter being sent with the persons mentioned. At the end perhaps *[ἅμα ταῖς] παρ' ἡμῖν χιρογραφία[ις* or *[καὶ τὰς] . . . χιρογραφία[ς* or *[κατὰ τὰς] κτλ.* The small lacuna in the middle of 8 seems too wide for two letters only, but a final *sigma* may have had a long cap or there may have been a gap for the break in the sense. The number of letters at the ends of the lines is always uncertain. The numbers given in the transcript rest on *στρατ̣η[γός* (2), but the ends may have been irregular, and perhaps even quite a bit longer.

8 *ἔχοι*. See R. C. Horn, *Subjunctive and Optative*, 143–4. Supply a farewell formula.

9 *Πρ̣όκ̣λου καὶ Παυλίνου*. The only papyrological parallels to this consular date that I know are in an unpublished Oxyrhynchus record of proceedings before the logistes, at present being prepared for publication by Dr. R. A. Coles, to whom I am indebted for the information. At two points it equates the names here with the regnal year 19 and 9 (Constantine 19 and Caesars Crispus and Constantine junior 9), A.D. 324/5. The days are Phamenoth 7 and 21 (3 and 17 March), so the consuls are those of A.D. 325. On the back, for the 17th of the same month of Phamenoth, 13 March, it calls the consuls *Παυλίνου καὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ*, which is the usual formula, see XIV **1626** 23 (26 May), P. Lond. III 977. 17 (21 June), P. Théad. 35. 11 (28 June), I 52 1 (July/August), SB V 8019. 19 (27 September; includes *nomina*), P. Théad. 7. 26 (2 October?), SB V 8020. 16 (no day; includes *nomina*).

The *Fasti Theonis Alexandrini* have for A.D. 325 *Πρόκλος ἤτοι Παυλίνος καὶ Ἰουλιανός* (Mommsen, *Chronica Minora* iii. 380). This is welcome confirmation that the name Proculus was attached to this year, but it adds to our confusion in another way by appearing to suggest that Proculus and Paulinus are the same man, whereas the papyri show that they are different.

The consulship *Proculo et Paulino* is also attached to a letter of Constantine addressed to a *rationalis* in *Cod. Theod.* 2. 25. 1 = *Cod. Iust.* 3. 38. 11, with the date *iii* (or *vii*) *k. Mai.*, 29 (or 25) April. This is usually regarded as a mistake for *Optato et Paulino*, A.D. 334, see O. Seeck, *Regesten*, 88, 174. The name of the senior consul of A.D. 334 is actually given as Proculus Optatus in W. Liebenam, *Fasti*, but with no more evidence that I can discover, and the combination of *cognomina* strikes me as odd.

A satisfactory hypothetical explanation would run as follows. The year A.D. 325 began with a senior consul called Proculus and a junior consul called Paulinus, and in Oxyrhynchus this pair were considered the *ordinarii* for the year till at least the month of Pharmouthi (27 March–25 April; line 9 here). At some time not earlier than the date of *Cod. Theod.* 2. 25. 1, perhaps 29 April, Proculus was disgraced and removed from office, whereupon Paulinus was promoted to be senior consul and a new person, Julianus, took over the place of junior consul.

This fits the evidence of the papyri dated by Paulinus and Julianus, except for the date on the back of the unpublished logistes proceedings giving their names for 13 March. This occurs in an amended and longer version of a section that has been struck out on the front of the roll. I conclude that it was actually recopied and altered at a date when the new formula had replaced the old. The clerk therefore used the new formula, though he was not so conscientious as to go through the front of the roll and strike out the occurrences of the offending consul's name.

The reason why there are other items in the *Codex Theodosianus* and the *Codex Iustinianus* with the consuls given as Paulinus and Julianus for dates earlier than 29 April is that Theodosius II gave instructions that the latest imperial pronouncement on any particular subject should prevail if it contradicted an earlier one. Seeck explained, in *Regesten*, 18 seqq., how this led to the interpolation and correction of dates to accord with the official *fasti*, and concluded, on p. 21, 'Wir haben hierdurch den methodischen Grundsatz gewonnen, dass Datierungen, die den Fasten genau entsprechen, minder-vertrauenswürdig sind als solche, die ihnen in der Form irgendwie abweichen.'

The papyri show that the date in *Cod. Theod.* 2. 25. 1 is one which goes back to an original written in A.D. 325 before the dismissal of Proculus and which defeated the efforts of the compilers of the code to standardize the dates according to the *fasti*.

Unfortunately I have been unable to identify this Proculus or to find any reference to the disgracing of a consul at this date. It might be that Proculus was the candidate of Licinius, who was finally defeated by Constantine in September, A.D. 324, imprisoned, and put to death in A.D. 325 for treasonable correspondence with barbarians. However, if Licinius had a candidate for the consulship of A.D. 325, one might have expected it to be Martinianus, his colleague newly appointed in A.D. 324.

The *nomina* of Paulinus and Julianus appear in SB V 8019 and 8020. Paulinus was an Anicius, and Julianus was probably a Caeonius, see *RE* iii/2. 1859, no. 19; at least, it seems much more likely that the garbled form, published as *καὶ Ἰωνίου*, represents simply haplography of *καί* than that it is a mistake for *καὶ Ἰουλίου*, as Chastagnol claims, identifying the consul with the prefect of Egypt active in A.D. 314 (*Fastes*, 85).

3126. Petition to a Logistes

3 1B.77/B(6)a 47 × 17 cm. 19 August A.D. 328

We find here the best evidence for the *cognomen* of the prefect governing Egypt in A.D. 328. It is given as *Ζενίῳ* (ii 4) and this agrees with the literary evidence, which consists of three mentions in the Festal Letters of Athanasius (Keph. 328, Suscr. 329, Keph. 329) all presenting the genitive as *Ζενίου*. F. Cantarelli emended this otherwise unknown name to Zeno (*La serie dei prefetti* ii 23) and the suggestion has been more or less tentatively accepted in the lists of prefects (C. Vandersleyen, *La Chronologie des préfets*, 14, 131 n. 1, J. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, 241, F. Hübner, *Der Praefectus Aegypti*, 17, 109). O. Seeck kept Zenius (*RE* s.v. Septimius (67), and *Regesten* for A.D. 328, 329), which this documentary evidence makes certain, and the entry in *PLRE* i 990 is also correct.

The petitioner bought a fourth share in a house from a man who held the whole house in common with two women. The women detained the share for some reason unexplained, whereupon the buyer petitioned the prefect, who wrote to the logistes of the nome instructing him to settle the claim and see that a just division was made. The document is a petition to the logistes setting out these facts, enclosing copies of the prefect's instructions to the logistes and of the petition to the prefect that evoked them. The first column, containing the first item only, is complete except for the loss of the address to the logistes, perhaps only one line; the second, containing the second and third items, is complete at the foot and probably also at the top, but the ends of the lines are lost.

The grammar is in places so bad that it could not be corrected without a complete new draft, e.g. i 10, ii 11? In other places in col. ii where the text is incomplete it may well be that the grammar is also defective. The spelling too is often incorrect.

On the back are some calculations without any words to show what the figures refer to.

i

. . . . .

→ παρὰ Αὐρη[λίου Κάστορος Παράμμω]ν[ος ἀ]πὸ τῆς Ἀμμ[ωνιακῆς
καταγινομέν[ου ἐν τῇ λα]μ(πρᾷ) καὶ λαμ(προτάτῃ) {καὶ λαμ} Ὀξυρυγχιτῶ[ν
πόλ]ε̣ι.
ἐπριάμην παρὰ [Θ]ωνίου Πααντᾶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆ[ς Ὀ]ξυ-
ρυγχιτῶν πόλεως τὸ ὑπάρξαν αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει
ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Ἑρμαίου τέταρτον μέρος οἰκίας καὶ τῶν
ταύτης ὑποστελλώντων πάντων, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς
οἰκίας κοινονῶν Ταωρίων καὶ Κοπρία ἐπεκράτουν τοῦ-
το τὸ μέρος. μὴ φέρων ἀνήνεγκα ἐπὶ τὴν ἔπαρχον
ἐξουσίαν ἀξιῶν τοῦ οἰκοπαίδιου τὴν διέρεσιν γίγνες-
θαι ἔτινες ἐπισταλῖcαι τὰ κεκελευcμένα καὶ δικαστήρια
παρὰ τῇ cῇ ἐπιε̣ικίᾳ πρός μαι cυνκροτήcαcε τοῦτώ μοι
τὼ μέρος κεκύρωται ἐπὶ τῶν πραχθέντων ὑπομνη-
μάτων ἀκολούθως τῷ δικαίῳ τῆς εἰc ἐμαὶ πράcεως.
καὶ ἐπιτὴ ἀναγκεῶν ἐcτιν κατὰ τὰ προcτεταγμένα ὑπὸ τῆc
μίζονος ἐξουcίας καὶ τὴν διαίρεcιν τοῦ οἰκοπαίδιου ποι-
ήcacθαι πρὸc τὸ ἕκαcτον τὸ ἴδιον ἐcχηκότα τούτου ἀπο̣λ̣αύει(ν),
ἐκ τούτου καὶ νῦν ἠπίχθην, ὑποτάξας ἅπερ ἀνήνεγκα
μεθ' ὧν ἀντεγράφην, τὰ βιβλία ἐπιδοῦναι ἀξιῶν
ἐπιcταλῆναι τοὺc τῶν οἰκοδόμων μηνιάρχας ἵν' ἰδῶcι
καὶ ἐπαναγκαcθῆναι εἰc τὴν τῆc αὐτῆc οἰκίας διαίρε̣cιν
ἧκιν κατὰ τὰ περὶ τούτου προcτεταγμένα.

ὑπατείας Φλαουίου Ἰαν̣ο̣υαρε̣ί̣ν̣ο̣[υ] καὶ Οὐεττίου Ἰο̣ύ̣στου τῶν λαμ(προτάτων),
Μεcορὴ κ̅ς̅.

(m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Κ̣άστωρ ἐπιδ[έ]δωκα. Α̣ὐρήλιο̣ς ....ηc
Δ̣ιδύμου [ἔ̈γραψ]α̣ ὑπὲρ [αὐ]τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ γράμ[ματα μὴ εἰ]δ̣ότος.

2 λαμ$ (*ter*) 6 l. *ὑποστελλόντων* 7 l. *κοινωνῶν* 9 l. *οἰκοπέδου, διαίρεcιν*
10 l. *αἵτινες, ἐπισταλεῖcαι* 11 l. *ἐπιεικείᾳ, με cυγκροτήcαcαι τοῦτό* 12 l. *τό* 13 l. *ἐμέ*
14 l. *ἐπειδή, ἀναγκαῖόν* 15 l. *μείζονος, οἰκοπέδου* 16 *ἴδιον, απο̣λ̣αυεῖ* 17 l. *ἠπείχθην*
19 *ἵν*, l. *εἰδῶcι* 21 l. *ἧκειν* 22 *φλαουΐου ἰαν̣ο̣υαρε̣ι̣ν̣ο̣[υ], ἰο̣ύ̣cτου, λαμ$*

ii

. . . . .

Cεπτίμιο̣[c Zένιος λογι]c̣τῇ 'Οξυρυγχ[ίτου] χ̣[α]ίρε̣[ι]ν̣· αν̣[.....].....[

τῇ ἐμῇ καθο̣[ciώc]ει καὶ φρόντιcον εἰ μὴ περὶ τῆc κοιν̣[ωνίαc τοῦ] οἰκοπαίδου μηδ̣.[.....].....[

τὴν διαίρεcιν τού[το]υ κατὰ τὸ δίκαιο̣ν ποιήcacθαι. ἔρρωco. κ̣.[..].δ″. τῶν δὲ ἀνενε̣γχθέντων̣ [

Cεπτιμίῳ Zενίῳ τῷ διαcημοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ Αἰγύπτ[ο]υ παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Κάc{c}τοροc Παράμμων[oc ἀπὸ τῆc Ἀμμωνιακῆc

5 *'Οάceωc καταγινομένου ἐν τῇ λαμπρᾷ καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ 'Οξυρυγχιτῶν πόλει. ἐπριάμην, κύριε, παρὰ Θ[ωνίου Παανταῖ μητρὸc*

Κοπρίαc ἀπὸ τῆc αὐτῆc 'Οξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεωc τὸ ὑπάρχον αὐτῷ ἐ[ν τῇ] α̣ὐ̣[τῇ] πόλει ἐπ' ἀμφόδου [Ἑρμαίου τέταρτον μέροc

ὁλοκλήρου οἰκίαc καὶ τῶν ταύ[τηc ὑ]π̣οcτελλόντων πάντων παραχρ̣.[.....] cυμ-φωνηθι̣ç[

τωμη ἀποδω..νω Θωνίῳ ἀκωλούθωc ᾗ πεποίηταί μου πράceωc .[...]. ὁμολο-γιαç̣οδ̣[

κοινονῶν τῆc οἰκίαc τῷ μο̣ι ὑποc̣τ̣έλλων τέταρτον μέροc ἐπικρατουντ̣.[..].[..] .....[

10 *μετριώτητοc κα̣τ̣αφρωνοῦντας, ἐκ τοῦτου καταφεύγω πρὸc τοὺc coὺc πόδαc του̣.[ἀξιῶν ἐλεήcαντά μου τὸ μέτριον μετὰ χῖραc ἔχοντό̣ç μου τὴν εἰc ἐμαὶ γεγενη[μένην ἐπικρίνῃc ἐπαν̣α̣γκαcθῆναι τοὺc τῆc ο[ἰ]κίαc κοινουνοὺc Κοπ[ρί]αν καὶ Ταωρίωνα του̣.[*

τὸ κἀμαὶ δύνacθαι ἀπολαβόντα τἀμὰ [χά]ρ̣ιν ὁμοίωc ἔχιν διὰ τὴν cὴν .[

2 l. *οἰκοπέδου* 3 l. *ἀνενεχθέντων* 8 l. *τῷ ⟨ἐ⟩μοὶ ἀποδομένῳ?* 9 l. *κοινωνῶν, τό̣ ὑποcτέλλον* 10 l. *μετριότητοc καταφρονοῦντας* 11 l. *χεῖραc, ἐμέ* 12 l. *κοινωνούc* 13 l. *κἀμέ*

'. . . from Aurelius Castor, son of Parammon, from the Ammoniac Oasis, at present in the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites. I bought from Thonius, son of Paantas, from the same city of the Oxyrhynchites, the fourth share formerly belonging to him in the same city in the Hermaeum quarter of a house and all its appurtenances, but Tahorion and Copria, (two) of the joint owners of the house, were detaining this share; not enduring (this) I applied to the authority of the prefect asking that the division of the property should take place. After they had been informed of (his) order and together contrived(?) hearings before your clemency against me, this share was confirmed as mine upon the record made of the proceedings in conformity with the right conferred by the sale to me; and since it is necessary in accordance with the edicts of the higher authority also to make the division of the property, so that each may have his own and enjoy it, I make haste for this reason now also, subjoining the text of my application with the reply I received, to submit this petition asking that communication be made to the monthly presidents of the builders so that they may be informed and

that they may be compelled to come to the division of the same house in accordance with the edicts concerning this matter.'

'In the consulship of Flavius Januarinus and Vettius Justus, *clarissimi viri*, Mesore 26.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Castor, submitted (the petition). I, Aurelius . . . es, son of Didymus, wrote on his behalf since he does not know letters.'

'Septimius Zenius to the logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, greeting. . . . to my Honour . . . and take care, unless concerning the common ownership of the property . . ., to make the division of it in accordance with the just claim. Farewell. . . . and (a copy?) of the application (is subjoined?).'

'To Septimius Zenius, the most perfect prefect of Egypt, from Aurelius Castor son of Parammon, from the Ammoniac Oasis, at present in the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites. I bought, my lord, from Thonius son of Paantas, mother Copria, from the same city of the Oxyrhynchites, the fourth share belonging to him in the same city in the Hermaeum district of a whole house and all its appurtenances immediately (?) . . . agreed . . . Thonius in accordance with the agreement of sale which he made for me . . . despising my humble position, for this reason I flee for refuge at your feet . . . requesting that you pity my lowliness, since I have in my possession the (deed of sale?) that was made in my favour . . . and give judgement that the common owners of the house, Copria and Tahorion, be compelled . . . (so that) I also may be able to recover my property and be grateful likewise because of your . . .'

i 1 *Ἀμμ[ωνιακῆς*. Sc. *Ὀάσεως*; cf. e.g. P. Fay. 23(a). It was written in full in ii 5 but there is no room to supply it here unless there was some abbreviation.

10 The grammar has gone seriously wrong, cf. introd.

10–11 For the phrase *δικαστήρια . . . συγκροτεῖν* cf. e.g. Theophylactus Simocatta, *Ep.* 17 (Boiss.) *ἐμοὶ καὶ Ζωστράτῳ συγκεκρότητο δικαστήριον*, Origen, *Cels.* 1, 65 *ἰδὼν συγκροτεῖσθαι μέλλον κατ' αὐτοῦ δικαστήριον*. G. W. H. Lampe, *PGL* s.v. (2b) takes it to refer to convening a court. The plural *δικαστήρια* here and in P. Panop. 29. 10 (*ZPE* 10 (1973) 135) seems rather to mean 'hearings' or 'charges', see *CGL* ii 63, 42 *Examen εξετασις, ακροασις, δικαστηρον* (l. *δικαστήριον*), Suid. *Γραφάς: δικαστήρια, κατηγορίας*. The verb appears to imply that the charges are false; it is perhaps roughly equivalent to the English 'contrive'.

16 Professor Turner points out that *ἕκαστον τὸ ἴδιον κτλ.* alludes to the Latin legal formula 'suum cuique tribuere', on which see P. Petaus 24. 10 n.

19 *τοὺς τῶν οἰκοδόμων μηνιάρχας*. These four words are cramped because they have been added subsequently—it is doubtful whether by the same scribe or another—in a space originally left blank. They strongly support the restoration of PSI V 456. 4 as *μηνι]αρχῶν οἰκοδόμων*. For *μηνιάρχαι* cf. San Nicolò, *Vereinswesen* ii 56, 64. *μηνιάρχης* appears also in O. Bodl. II 1986 from Upper Egypt and is not therefore known only in Oxyrhynchus, as I supposed (XXXI 2579 11 n., with the remark of Miss Préaux in her review of P. Oxy. XXXI in *CÉ* 42 (1967) 215–23). There is perhaps an implication here that actual structural alteration was to be made to the house, possibly to enable it to be owned by *communio pro diviso* instead of *pro indiviso*.

ii 3 *κ.[..].δ″*. Perhaps *κ̣ρ̣[λ]λ̣(ήματος) δ″* (or *κ̣ρ̣[λ(λήματος)* e.g. *] λ̣δ, ρ̣]λ̣δ*), but it is not clear what record would be referred to. Neither trace nor space suits *κ̣ρ̣[λ( ) n το]μ( ) δ″*.

ἀνενεγχθέντων. Traces and space seem to indicate *-γχ-* for *-χ-*, though Mayser, i 195–6, says that nasalization in the aor. pass. of *φέρω* is in the Ptolemaic period almost completely limited to the 3rd century B.C. Supply *[τὸ ἴσον ὑποτέτακται, vel sim.*

7 Perhaps *παραχρῆ[μα τῆς] συμφωνηθ⟨ε⟩ίς[ης τιμῆς vel sim.*

8 This line is a puzzle; *ἀποδωμένῳ* for *-δομένῳ* seems likely. In that case possibly *μη* is a phonetically equivalent spelling of *μοι*, but the result *τῷ μοι ἀποδομένῳ* is odd. Perhaps read *τῷ ⟨ἐ⟩μοὶ ἀ.*; or perhaps *τωμη* can be otherwise articulated.

11 *ἀξιῶν ἐλεήσαντα . . . ἐπικρίνῃς*. It looks as if there is an ungrammatical mixture of constructions here, cf. introd.

Mr. Parsons pointed out that the lost noun is probably *πρᾶσιν* or something similar, cf. P. Chic. Goodspeed 15. 18–19, *ἔχουσα μετὰ χεῖρας τὰς πράσις* (= *πράσεις*).

3127. Undertaking on Oath

4 1B.76/(z) 9·5 × 13·5 cm. A.D. 332

The writer agrees to escort two debtors to Alexandria and to turn them over to the office of the *rationalis*, to whose department the debts may therefore have been owing. The nomen of the *rationalis*, Flavius Nemesianus, is new, and this is the first date known from his term of office, hitherto set simply 'before A.D. 340'. On his career see *PLRE* i 621. He is omitted from the list in J. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, 257–60.

The undertaking is dated by the same consuls and addressed to the same officials as XII **1426** and allows some corrections of it to be made; the most important of these uncovers the name of the strategus for this year.

The back is blank.

→ ὑ[πατεί]ας Π̣α̣π̣ίου Πακατιανοῦ τοῦ [λαμ(προτάτου) ἐπάρχου καὶ
Μ̣[εκιλί]ου Ἱλαριανοῦ τοῦ λαμπροτά[του (month, day)
Φλαο]υ̣ίῳ Ἑρμ̣ε̣ί̣ᾳ λογιστῇ καὶ Αὐ[ρηλ]ίοις Ἀ̣[χιλλί]ων[ι ἐκδίκῳ
...] (vac.) καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ (vac.) στρατηγῷ Ὀξ[(υρυγχίτου)
παρὰ] Α̣ὐ̣ρ̣η̣[λί]ου Σαραπιακοῦ Θωνίου ἀ̣π̣ὸ̣ τ̣ῆ̣ς Ὀξ(υρυγχιτῶν) π[όλεως
...].....ου. ὁμολογῶ ὀμνὺς τὸν σεβάσμιον θεῖον ὅ[ρκον
τ]ῶν δεσπ̣ο̣[τ]ῶν ἡμ̣ῶ̣ν Αὐτοκράτορός τε καὶ Κ̣α̣[ισάρων
παρειληφέναι [τ]οὺς ἐξῆς ἐγγεγραμμένους χρ[εώς-
τας δύο οὕσπερ κατενέγκω εἰς τὴν λαμ(προτάτην) Ἀλεξ̣[άν-
τριαν καὶ παραστήσω τῇ τάξι τοῦ διασημο-
τάτ[ο]υ̣ καθολικοῦ Φλαουίου Νεμεσιανοῦ
κ[αὶ] τ̣ὰ̣ τῆς παραστάσεως γράμματα ἐπ̣ε̣ν̣ε̣[γ-
κ[εῖ]ν̣ ἢ ἔνοχο[ς ε]ἴ̣ην τῷ θείῳ ὅρκ[ῳ. παρέ-
σχ[ο]ν δὲ ἐμαυτοῦ τοῦ ἐνεγκεν [ἐγγυη-
τ̣ὴ̣ν̣ (m. 2) Αὐρ(ήλιον) Γοῦνθο̣ν̣ Θωνίου (m. 1) ἀπ[ὸ .....
παρόντ]α καὶ εὐδοκοῦν[τα .....

. . . . .

3 φλαο]υ̣ΐῳ 5 οξ′ 8 εγ'γεγραμμενους 9 κατενεγ'κω, λαμζ, l. Ἀλεξάνδρειαν
10 l. τάξει 11 φλαουΐου 14 ενεγ'κεν[15 αυρ′

'In the consulship of Papius Pacatianus, the most glorious prefect, and Mecilius Hilarianus, the most glorious, (month, day). To Flavius Hermeias, logistes, and to Aurelius Achillion, *defensor*, and Aurelius Ptolemaeus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Sarapiacus, son of Thonius, from the city of the Oxyrhynchites, escort (?). I acknowledge, swearing the august imperial oath of our masters the Emperor and Caesars, that I have taken charge of the two debtors whose names are written below, whom I shall convey down to the most glorious Alexandria and deliver to the office of the most perfect *rationalis*, Flavius Nemesianus, and that I shall produce the certificate of delivery, or may I be

liable to the penalties of the imperial oath. I have provided as my own guarantor of delivery(?) (2nd hand) Aurelius Gunthus, son of Thonius, (1st hand) from . . ., who is present and consenting . . .'

1 *Παπίου*. In XII **1426** the editors suggested *Οὐλπίου* or *Οὐιρίου*. H.-G. Pflaum proposed the identification with the Papius Pacatianus known from inscriptions (*Bull. d'arch. algérienne*, no. 1 (1962–5), pp. 159–61 ; add now *AÉ*, 1966, no. 169). The traces here suit *Παπίου* better than *Οὐλπίου* and seem to exclude *Οὐιρίου*; they are not legible by themselves and do not lend much weight to the already probable identification. In **3128**, however, the *nomen* is clearly written and it can hardly be doubted that both XII **1426** and **3127** have the same name.

Restore *Παπίου Π]ακατιανοῦ* also in P. Vind. Bos. 8. 25, where the editor's tentative supplement *τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἐπάρχου τοῦ [ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου* seems justified by Pflaum's evidence. [See now also P. Panop. 22. 5–6 n. (*ZPE* 10 (1973) 111–12), cf. ibid. 29. 20 (p. 135), 30. 2 (p. 143).]

2 *Μ[εκιλί]ου*. This is the spelling of XII **1426** 2 and P. Vind. Bos. 8. 26 (see Abb. iii for correction of the printed *Μεκλίου*). [Add now P. Panop. 22. 6, 29. 20, 30. 2.] In Latin *Mecilius* occurs frequently in this man's name (*CIL* viii 1179, 12524, *Cod. Theod.* 6. 4. 3 ; 6. 4. 4 ; 9. 1. 3), otherwise only once, Livy 2. 58. 1 ; *Maecilius* is relatively common, but occurs only once, apparently, in this man's name (*CIL* vi 1796 = 32110, *Maecilio Hi*[).

For his career see A. Chastagnol, *Fastes*, 103 no. 41, and *Latomus* 28 (1969) 625.

3 *ἐκδίκῳ*. Cf. XII **1426** 4. In PSI VII 767 Achillion appears to be acting as the deputy of the logistes, 3 *διὰ Ἀ. ἐκδίκου διαδόχου*, 8–9 *λογιστῇ . . . διὰ Ἀ. διαδόχου*.

4 *Πτολεμαίῳ στρατηγῷ*. *Πτολεμίῳ γρᾳ(μματεῖ)* in **1426** 4 should be corrected to agree with this. It had already been suggested that *γρᾳ(μματεῖ)* required correction, see BL iii p. 137.

6 *...]. . . . .ου*. Probably a description of the rank or occupation of Sarapiacus. *κατ]ᾳπρομπροῦ* might suit, but before *μπ*, which seem satisfactory enough, the traces are completely illegible. The meaning 'escort' is appropriate, but the other occurrences of the word relate to the transport of requisitions and taxes, i.e. *κ. ζῴων* XII **1414** 19, 20, *κ. οἴνου, κριθῆς* XII **1415** 5, 6, *ὑποδέκτης* (read *-ας*) *ἤτοι κ.* SB I 4513. 6, *ἐπιμελητῶν ἤτοι κ.*, P. Beatty Panop. 2. 213.

9 *κατενέγκω*. Future, see *TAPA* 94 (1963) 343 with n. 53.

12 *ἐπενε[γ]/κ[εῖ]ν*. Cf. X **1261** 10 *καὶ τῆς παραδόσεως γράμματα ἐπενε⟨γ⟩κῖν*.

14 *ἐνεγκεν*. This mis-spelling might represent either *ἐνεγκε⟨ῖ⟩ν* or *ἐνέγκε{ν}* = *ἐνέγκαι*, cf. Mayser², i 2, p. 136.

15 The name has been added later in a space left blank for it.

3128. Consular Date

A B.3 2/1(a) 5·5×3·8 cm. 29 June A.D. 332

This scrap, with remains of only the top two lines of a document in a clear cursive, contains the name of Papius Pacatianus, the person discussed in the last item (**3127** 1 n.) as the probable consul of A.D. 332. Even though the name of the second consul is lost here it can hardly be doubted that Pflaum's identification is supported by these two papyri and by XII **1426**.

ὑπατεί]ας Παπίου Πακατιανοῦ τ[οῦ λαμπροτάτου ἐπάρχου (τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου? P. Vind. Bos. 8. 25) *καὶ Μεκιλίου Ἱλαριανοῦ τοῦ λαμ](προτάτου) μηνὶ Ἐπ[εὶ]φ ϵ['*

'In the consulship of Papius Pacatianus, the most glorious, prefect (of the sacred *praetorium* ?), and Mecilius Hilarianus, the most glorious ; in the month of Epeiph, on the fifth.'

3129. Letter of a Prefect

A 3[A]B.6/12(a) 13·5 × 25 cm. September A.D. 335

The interest of this letter is that it is an original issued from the prefect's chancery. The ἔρρωco added in smaller cursive after the 'Chancery' style of the body of the letter is perhaps an autograph of the prefect Flavius Philagrius. The date falls in the known period of his first term of office and does not help to fix the length of it, which is doubtful, see C. Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des préfets*, 15, 127–8.

He instructs the strategus to make an investigation into the facts stated in a petition that had been sent to him and to protect the petitioner from loss if he found them correct. A copy of the petition once accompanied the letter. A comparable letter and enclosures are to be found in XII **1470**, but that is a copy, not the original.

The strategus, whose name appears in the address on the back, is new.

→ Φλάουιος Φιλάγριος ς̣τ̣ρ̣.[
'Οξυρυγχ[ε]ίτου χα̣ί̣ρ̣[ειν.
Εὐδαίμων π̣ροσελθὼν ἔφη ς̣[εν
(m. 3) dat(a) ἔχειν χρεώστας ὁμολογο[υ-
5]...Kal(endas) μένους, ὡς γνώσει ἐκ τοῦ
] Octobr(es) ἀντιτύπου τ̣ο̣ῦ ἐπιδοθέντο[ς
]l( ) λ̣ι̣βέλλου. φρόντιcον, εἰ ἀληθε̣ύ̣ο̣ν-
τ]α̣ εὕροις, τὸ ἀζήμιον
αὐτ]ῷ̣ φυλάξαι. (m. 2) ἔρρωco.
10 (m. 4) Iulio Consta]ṇtio u(iro) c(larissimo) pat[r]icio
fratre d(omini) n(ostri) [

. . . . .

Back → Cυνεcίωι ς̣[τ]ρ̣[ατηγῷ̣
'Ο̣ξ̣[υρυγχίτου.

10 u c, d n margin dat, kal, octobr,]l/

'Flavius Philagrius to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, greetings. Eudaemon approached (me) claiming that he has debtors acknowledged as such, as you will learn from the copy of the petition he submitted. Take care, if you find he is telling the truth, to protect him from loss.'

(2nd hand) 'Farewell.'

(4th hand) 'In the consulship of Julius Constantius, *vir clarissimus*, brother of our lord (Constantine Augustus, and Rufius Albinus, *vir clarissimus*).'

Margin. (3rd hand) 'Given the *n*th day before the Kalends of October, in Alexandria (?).'

(Back) 'To Synesius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome.'

1 ς̣τ̣ρ̣.[. The tops of the first three letters are lost, but they are fairly certain. The last trace may be part of an *α* if στρατηγῷ was written in full, or it may be a sign of abbreviation.

3 On the technical sense of προσέρχεσθαι, 'to come into court', cf. XXXI **2601** 9 n.

3–4 ἔφηϛ[εν] ⁴ ἔχειν, 'he claimed that he has debtors acknowledged as such.' This seems the best supplement, but it is not entirely certain. The weak aorist appears from the 3rd cent. B.C., see Mayser², I ii 200, till at least the 6th cent. A.D., e.g. P. Cair. Masp. I 87. 11. A. S. F. Gow, on Machon 437, points out that it also occurs in literature more often than appears from LSJ. (For Plato, *Pol.* 217 e in Gow's notc, read 297 e.)

One alternative might be ἔφη ϛ[υν]⁴έχειν, 'he claimed that he is holding under arrest', etc. On imprisonment for debt at this date sec R. Taubenschlag, *Law*², 536.

E. G. Turner suggests that one might restore ἔφη ϛ[ε, with ϲαυτ]ῷ in 8. The wording of 7–8—'if you find he is telling the truth'—counts against this, by suggesting that the strategus would have to investigate the claim of Eudaemon. If the debtors were in debt to the strategus himself, this could hardly have been neccssary.

7–8 εἰ . . . εὕροιϲ. Cf. R. C. Horn, *Subjunctive and Optative*, 161–2.

10 There is a depth of *c.* 2 cm. of blank papyrus below this line, but evidently the foot is lost. The consular date, that of A.D. 335, should be completed, subject to abbreviation, 'Constantini Augusti et Rufio Albino viro clarissimo consulibus'.

11–12 *Cυνεϲίωι*. It was argued by Grenfell and Hunt that the local official concerned in XII **1470** was the strategus of A.D. 336, who might possibly have been the same as this man. The initial space in **1470** 3 was estimated by them as enough for about 18 letters, but about 14 letters (*Φλαουίῳ*?) *Cυνεϲίῳ* may have been enough. They also suggested, doubtfully, that the name of the strategus might have appeared in 16,] *Νϵίλου*. An examination of the original, now Bodl. Gr. Class. c 82 (P), showed that *Cυ]νεϲίου* was not a possibility. But] *Νϵίλου* too is far from sure and in fact a name is not wanted here, see **1470** 16 n. Possibly the difficulty there is caused by another of the spelling mistakes common in the document;]ῤοιδου or]ῤοιλου seemed the most likely reading of the remains.

The traces of the dotted letters are extremely slight, but will suit the expected formula.

Margin. For the position and content of this notation cf. P. Dura 56 B, C. In the second line the number of digits in the figure is uncertain.

There is only one formal sign of abbreviation, the bar running upwards from left to right to cut the foot of *l* in the last line. The cross-bar of the *t* in *dat* is prolonged, and so is the tail of *r* in *Octobr.* In *Kal* there is no indication at all of abbreviation.

In the last line *A*]*l*( ) for *Al*(*exandria*) seems most likely, but possibly the prefect was somewhere else in Egypt, perhaps at a place with a name ending in *-polis*, abbreviated to *-pol*(*i*), or even at *Herac*]*l*(*eopolis*).

The writing is apparently not in the same hand as the consular date. The shapes of *t*, in particular, seem distinct.

DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

3130. Order to Arrest

35 4B.64/L(1–2)a 11 × 5·6 cm. Second/third century

For this type of document see P. Mich. X 589–91 introd., adding to the list there XLII 3035 and PIFAO Inv. 323 (*ZPE* 6 (1970) 11). The present example is one of the minority that are written along the fibres, see P. Mich. X, pp. 50–1, and is also unusual in bearing a date by month and day, ibid. p. 49 n. 13.

The persons to be arrested come from a village which is not the one mentioned in the title of the archephodus but is also in the Middle toparchy. Probably the authority

of the archephodus extended to smaller places within reasonable distance of his headquarters, but his territory was restricted, see ibid. p. 51.

The writing appears to be of the late second or early third century. An earlier date is unlikely because of the address to the archephodus, whose earliest dated appearance in the Oxyrhynchite nome is from A.D. 190, see XXXI, pp. 123–4.

→ ἀρχεφόδωι Τααμπετεί. πέμψον
Ἁτρῆν Ἁρεσούριος καὶ Ὧρον Βελλέως
καὶ Ψεναμοῦνιν Παυσίριος ἀπὸ Σεφὼι
ἐντυχόντος Φιλείνου. Μεχεὶρ ιη̄ ×××

5 Back ↓ (m. 2) ....[

'To the archephodus of Taampetei. Send Hatres son of Haresouris, and Horus son of Belles, and Psenamounis son of Pausiris, from Sepho, at the petition of Philinus. Mecheir 18.'

4 *Μεχεὶρ ιη̄* ×××. 12th of February, 13th in a Roman leap year. The St. Andrew's crosses are perhaps a device to prevent illegal additions, cf. P. Mich. 589 3n., XXXI **2576** 4–5 n.

5 ....[. The only other endorsement in the parallel documents is on P. Fay. 37, where the village name is repeated on the back in the accusative by way of address; this is certainly not the case here. A possible reading might be ς̣ς̣ς̣η(*μείωμαι*), the last letter raised to indicate abbreviation, cf. I **64**, **65**, XII **1506**, **1507**, XXXI **2577**, but all of these are third- to fourth-century, have a prescript indicating the source of the order, and have the docket at the end of the order, not on the back.

3131. Official Letter

35 4B.64/A(2–5)a 15 × 13 cm. *c.* A.D. 218–225

This letter is addressed to a deputy archidicastes (*ἀνταρχιδικαστής*) by a strategus, who reports that one of his assistants has made delivery of two documents drawn up in the office of the archidicastes. By comparison with other documents, e.g. XXIV **2349**, P. Fam. Tebt. 29, we can reasonably conclude that the documents were in effect notices warning the recipients that a claim had been made against them and a prima facie case made out in the department of the archidicastes, so that the strategus was authorized to grant and execute the claim unless a defence was entered within a specified period. There are two plaintiffs, a father and son, but the papyrus breaks off before we learn anything of the defendant or defendants or of the circumstances of the case. This is apparently the first text of its kind and it is not clear whether the report was a routine step in the proceedings or not.

On the back there are various traces of ink, mostly, if not all, offsets. At one point writing across the fibres may be an endorsement. It could be read, very doubtfully, as]. μ̣ο̣ῦ̣ς̣, i.e. *χρηματι*]ς̣μούς perhaps. But it is difficult to explain the accusative, and such a long supplement would imply that there was once a second column to the right of the text as it stands.

→ Αὐρήλιος Ἁ[ρ]ποκρατίων στρ(ατηγὸς) Ὀξυρυγχείτου
Αὐρηλίῳ Γεμέλλῳ ἀνταρχιδικα[c]τῇ τῷ
τειμιωτάτῳ χαίρειν. χρηματισμῶν
δύο ἀπὸ διαλογῆς παρακομισθέντων,
ἑνὸς μὲν ὀνόματος Αὐρ(ηλίου) Θέωνος τοῦ
καὶ Ἀμμωνίου γενομένου εὐθηνιάρ-
χου καὶ ἀγορανόμου, βουλευτοῦ τῆς λαμ-
προτάτης πόλεως τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων,
τοῦ δὲ ἑτέρου Αὐρ(ηλίου) Θέωνος τοῦ καὶ Ζωίλου
γυμνασιαρχήσαντος τῆς Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν
πόλεως, υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, Αὐρήλιος Cερῆνος
ὑπηρέτης ἀντίγραφον ἑκατέρου ἐπι-
c[τ]α[λεὶς ἐδή]λωσεν μ[εταδ]ε̣δωκέ̣ν̣[αι
..[
.].[

. . . . .

1 στρ$ 5, 9 αυρ'

'Aurelius Harpocration, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to Aurelius Gemellus, vice-archidicastes, the most honoured, greetings. Since there have been received two official documents which have had attention (?), one in the name of Aurelius Theon alias Ammonius, former eutheniarch and agoranomus, councillor of the most glorious city of the Alexandrians, the other (in the name of) Aurelius Theon alias Zoilus, ex-gymnasiarch of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, his son, Aurelius Serenus, (my) assistant, has been dispatched and has reported that he has delivered a copy of each . . .'

1 The strategus is attested in office between September/October A.D. 218 (XXXIII **2672**) and 6 April A.D. 225 (XVII **2125**, see XXXVIII, p. xiv). Other documents in which he appears are X **1283**, XII **1460**, and XXII **2348**.

2 ἀνταρχιδικαστῇ. The word occurs elsewhere only in PSI X 1105. 5, XII 1255. 3. It is not clear whether it differs from διέπων τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχιδικαστείαν. It may indicate a subordinate rather than a substitute in office, see Pflaum's view of an ἀνταρχιερεύς as a permanent assistant of the ἀρχιερεύς (*Les Carrières*, 581), based chiefly on the equivalence of ἀντεπίτροπος and *subprocurator* (cf. e.g. *CIL* iii 14180—a bilingual text—with *ZPE* 7 (1971) 66–7).

4 ἀπὸ διαλογῆς. The process is only very imperfectly understood, see P. Fam. Tebt. 28. 39 n. It appears that in the department of the archidicastes there were minor judges or officials to whose consideration certain petitions were initially submitted in order to establish a prima facie case, see I **34** ii 3–4 οἱ καλούμενοι ἐπὶ τῆς διαλογῆς τῶν κατὰ καιρὸν ἀρχιδικαστῶν [γρα]μμάτων; P. Fam. Tebt. 29. 7 τῆς γεγενημένης ὑπογραφῆς ἐπὶ τῆς διαλογῆς τῶν ἐντεύξεων, XXII **2349** 17 οἱ τὰς ἐντεύξεις διαλέξαντες (ex-διαλέγοντες?).

9–11 On Aurelius Theon alias Zoilus see **3113** 2 n.

12–13 ἐπι[13]c[τ]α[λείς. Cf. XXXVIII **2849** 20–1 ἀξιοῦσα ἐπισταλῆναι ὑπηρέτην, CPR I 20. 10 τοῦ . . . εἰς τοῦτο ἐπισταλέν[τος ὑπηρέτου, cf. 5. But a noun for ἑκατέρου might produce a more natural construction. Unless abbreviated ἐπιc[τ]α̣[λματος would be too long; ἐπιc[το]λ̣[ίου might be possible, in which case the translation should run, 'Aurelius Serenus, (my) assistant, has reported that he has delivered a copy of each communication . . .'

3132. Oath on Undertaking Service

31 4B.10/C(1–3)c 6 × 15 cm. 2 November A.D. 237

This is an example of the customary oath taken by prospective liturgists, for which see P. Leit. 12 introd., XXXVI **2764** introd.

→ [.....]ρ(ατηγῷ) Ὀξ(υρυγχίτου)
[.....] Κλαυδίου
μητρὸς Θαήσιος ἀπ' [Ὀ]ξυρύγχῳ[ν
πόλεως. εἰσδοθεὶς ἅμα ἄλλ[οις εἰς
πρ(ακτορείαν) ἀργυρικ(ῶν) μητροπολ(ιτικῶν) λημμάτ[ων
Ἄνω το(παρχίας) Νεσμείμεως τό(πων) τοῦ
ἐνεστῶτος δ (ἔτους) ὀμνύω τὴν Γαΐω(ν)
Ἰουλίων Οὐήρων Μαξιμείνου
καὶ Μαξίμου Γερμανικῶν Μεγίστ[ων
Δακικῶν Μεγίστων Σαρματικῶ(ν)
Μεγίστων Καισάρων τῶν κ[υρίων
τύχην εὐθέως ἀντιλήμψες-
θαι τῆς δηλου[μένης] χρ[εία]ς
καὶ ταύτην ἐ[κτελ]έσειν ἐπὶ [τὸν
τεταγμένον [ἐ]ξῆς ἐνιαύσιον
χρόνον ἐνφανὴς ὢν εἰς τὸ
ἐν μηδενὶ μεμφθῆναι
ἢ ἔνοχος εἶην τῷ ὅρκῳ. πα-
ρέσχον δὲ ἐμαυτοῦ ἐγγυητὴ(ν)
Αὐρήλιον Διόσκορον Ἀμμωνίου
μητρὸς Θαισοῦτος ἀπὸ τῆς α(ὐτῆς) πόλ(εως)
παρόντα καὶ εὐδοκοῦντα.
(ἔτους) δ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
Γαΐου Ἰουλίου Οὐήρου Μαξιμείνου
Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦ[ς] Σεβαστοῦ
Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστ[ο]υ Δακικοῦ
Μ[ε]γίστου Σαρματικοῦ Μεγίστου
καὶ Γαΐου Ἰουλίου Οὐήρου Μαξίμου
Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου Δακικοῦ

1 στ]ρ^{L} οξ′ 5 πρ^{S} αργυρι^{κ} μητροπο^{λ} 6 το), το) 7 δL, γαιω^{-} 10 σαρματικω^{-}
19 εγγυητη^{-} 21 α^{-} πο^{λ} 23 Lδ

30 *Μεγίστου Σαρμ[ατι]κοῦ Μεγίστου*
τοῦ ἱερωτάτου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
υἱοῦ τοῦ Σεβα[στοῦ] Ἁθὺρ ξ.
Back → *[... Ν]εσμίμεως Αὐλήτης*

'To . . ., strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from . . ., son of Claudius, mother Thaesis, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. Having been nominated among others to the office of collector of money taxes for the receipts from metropolitans in the Upper toparchy, district of Nesmimis, for the present fourth year, I swear by the *genius* of C. Julius Verus Maximinus and C. Julius Verus Maximus, Germanici Maximi, Dacici Maximi, Sarmatici Maximi, Caesars, the lords, that I shall immediately undertake the aforesaid service and fulfil it for the appointed ensuing period of one year in person so that there shall not be any complaint against me, or else may I be liable to the penalties of the oath. I presented as my own guarantor Aurelius Dioscorus, son of Ammonius, mother Thaisous, from the same city, who is present and consents. Year 4 of Imperator Caesar C. Julius Verus Maximinus Pius Felix Augustus Germanicus Maximus Dacicus Maximus Sarmaticus Maximus and C. Julius Verus Maximus Germanicus Maximus Dacicus Maximus Sarmaticus Maximus, the most sacred Caesar, Augustus, son of the Augustus, Hathyr 6.'

(Back) '. . . (of) Nesmimis. Auletes (?).'

1 No strategus is yet attested for A.D. 237/8. Very possibly he was either Aurelius Leonides, last attested in A.D. 236/7 (XII **1405**, PSI X 1121—no month or day in either), or Flavius Harpocration, first attested in September/October A.D. 238 (XII **1433**), but another incumbent may have served a short term between these two.

4 *ἅμα ἀλλ[οις*. Cf. IX **1196** 4.

33 Space for about three letters is available before *Ν]εσμίμεως*. It may have been blank or there may have been something short, such as *πρά(κτωρ?)*. *αυλητης* seems more likely to be a name than the common noun. If so, it should probably be restored in 2 as the name of the prospective liturgist.

3133. Report of Village Scribe

35 4B.71/A(1–2)a 6 × 21 cm. 25 January A.D. 239

A village scribe declares to the strategus that for the outgoing month there is nothing to report concerning the departments of the dioecetes and the idiologus, nor for those of the other procurators, cf. XLII **3026** 20 n. It is the first example of its type from Oxyrhynchus, but compare P. Lond. III 1219 (p. 123 = W. *Chrest.* 172) from the Arsinoite nome, a nil return for the idios logos only, covering three months, W. *Chrest.* 72 and SPP xx 33 from the Hermopolite nome, nil returns for *τῇ τοῦ ἰδιολόγου καὶ ἀρχιερέως ἐπιτρο(πῇ)* only, addressed to the royal scribe.

P. R. Swarney (*Idios Logos*, 133–4) discusses W. *Chrest.* 72, a document of A.D. 234, but does not explain how it relates to his statement in the Preface (p. v) that the idios logos 'disappeared during the reign of Septimius Severus or shortly thereafter, perhaps continuing as a title'. We now know the name of an idiologus who functioned in A.D. 237, see **3103** introd. For another protest against this statement of Swarney's see *JEA* 58 (1972) 330. In fact, the present text appears to be the latest surviving mention of the idios logos, which may possibly, therefore, have disappeared a few years later, during the financial and other reforms of Philip the Arabian, A.D. 244–9, for which see *JRS* 57 (1967) 134–41.

→ *Φλαυ[ίῳ] Ἁρποκρατίω-*
νι [c]τρ(ατηγῷ) Ὀξ(υρυγχίτου)
παρ[ὰ Αὐρ]ηλίου Ἀκύλο̣υ
κωμο̣[γρ(αμματέως) .]..ε̣ως καὶ ἄλ(λων) κω(μῶν)
5 *τῆ̣ς [...]. το(παρχίας). δηλῶ*
[μ]ηδὲν ἔχειν σημᾶναι
ἀ̣ν̣ῆκον ανικ̣..με̣..
τῇ διοικήσει καὶ ἰδί-
ου λόγου ἢ καὶ ταῖς
10 *ἄλλαι̣ς ἐπιτρο(παῖς) τοῦ [ὄ]ν̣τ̣ο̣ς*
μηνὸς Τῦβι τοῦ ἐνεσ-
τῶτος β (ἔτους) Μάρκου
Ἀντωνίου Γορδιανοῦ
K[αίσα]ρος τοῦ κυρίου.

15 *(ἔτους) β Αὐτοκράτορος*
Κ̣αίσαρος Μ̣άρκ[ο]υ
Ἀντωνίου Γ[ορ]δ̣ιανοῦ
Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς
Σεβαστοῦ, Τῦβι λ¯.
20 (m. 2) *Αὐρ̣ήλ(ιος) Ἀκύλας κωμ(ογραμματεὺς) δι' ἐμοῦ*
Νι..[.]. ἐπιδ(έδωκα).

2 [c]τρ$\int$ οξ' 4 α^{λ} κω¯ 5 το) 8–9 l. ἰδίῳ λόγῳ 10 ἐπιτρο) 12 $\beta\int$ 15 $\mathsf{L}\beta$
19 Τῦβι: β corr. 20 αυρη$^{\lambda}$, κω$^{\mu}$ δ 21 επι$^{\delta}$

'To Flavius Harpocration, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Aquila, village scribe of . . . and other villages of the . . . toparchy. I declare that I have nothing to report relating . . . to the departments of the dioecetes or the idiologus and/or to those of the other procurators for the present month of Tybi of the current second year of M. Antonius Gordianus Caesar, the lord. Year two of Imperator Caesar M. Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix Augustus, Tybi 30.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Aquila, village scribe, submitted (the report), through me, Ni. . .'

1 The strategus is known from XII **1433** of September/October A.D. 238, see H. Henne, *Liste des stratèges*, 32, P. Mertens, 'Un demi-siècle de stratégie oxyrhynchite', *CÉ* 31 (1956) 353, 355.

3 *Ἀκύλο̣υ*. For this form of the genitive cf. PSI VIII 1149. 13.

4–5 On the right edge of the lacuna in 4 stands a vertical which could be part of a cursive ϕ. Since the space is so limited we might read *κωμο̣[γρ(αμματέως) Ὡ]φ̣ε̣ως*. This is a village of the eastern toparchy, cf. e.g. XIV **1659** 52. In 5 before *το(παρχίας)* is a trace at the height of the cross-bar of the *τ*, which could be interpreted as the end of a *λ*, placed high to indicate abbreviation. Possibly then, the papyrus has *τῆ̣ς [ἀπη]λ̣(ιώτου) το(παρχίας)*. Other short village names and other toparchies are also possible, e.g. *T]ή̣ε̣ως* with *Θμοι](σεφώ)*, *Co]ύ̣ε̣ως* with *λιβό]ς*.

7 *ανικ̣..με̣..* At the end a stroke above the line may be a mark of suspension—probably indicating *ν*, if so—or it may be a hook on the *iota* of *σημᾶναι*. The letters *ανικ̣*—or *ανιβ*—seem clear, though so unpromising; the end could be *-με̣ρ̣ο(ν)* or *-μα̣τ̣ῳ(ν)*.

8 *διοικήσει*. On the dioecesis as a department of finance alongside the idios logos see F. Preisigke, *Girowesen*, 61, S. L. Wallace, *Taxation*, 331–2.

8–9 *ἰδίου λόγου*. The dative is required by this wording. The scribe was perhaps thinking of expressions like *τῇ τοῦ ἰδίου λόγου ἐπιτροπῇ*, cf. W. *Chrest.* 172. 5, in anticipation of *ἐπιτρο(παῖς)*.

9 *ἢ καί*. For the translation 'and/or' see P. Petaus 25. 8 n.

9–10 *ταῖς ἄλλαι̣ς ἐπιτρο(παῖς)*. For the numerous procurators in Egypt see e.g. H.-G. Pflaum, *Les Carrières*, 1090 seqq.

21 *Νι..[.]..* After the lacuna the long descender looks more like an abbreviation mark than a genitive ending. *Νιλ̣ο[* is possible, though not very satisfactory, *Νικ̣.[* not possible.

ἐπιδ(έδωκα). For the first person in spite of the *δι' ἐμοῦ* formula see e.g. XXXI 2566 ii 20, 2585 24.

3134. Contract of Deposit

35 4B.64/A(1)a 19·9 × 20·3 cm. 3 November A.D. 258 or 4 November A.D. 259

This is a contract of a deposit of five hundred drachmas repayable on demand. On deposits in general see K. Kastner, *Die zivilrechtliche Verwahrung*, W.-D. Roth, *Untersuchungen zur Kredit-παραθήκη im röm. Ägypten*; cf. the model contract in XXXIII 2677.

→ *Αὐρήλιος Θέ[ων ὁ καὶ] Ἑρμείας Caραπίωνος μητρὸς Cαρα-*
πιάδος ἀπ' Ὀξυρ[ύγχων πό]λεως τῶν ἐξ ἐφηβείας ἱερο-
νεικῶν τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως Αὐρηλίῳ Cιλβανῷ τῷ καὶ
Cαραπίωνι Πτολεμαίου τοῦ καὶ Cαραπίωνος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐ[τῆς
5 *πόλεως τῶν ἐξ ἐφηβείας ἱερονεικ̣ῶν τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως*
χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἔχειν ἐν [π]αραθέσει ἀργυρίου Cεβαστῷ[ν
νομίσματος δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) φ καὶ ταύτα⟨c⟩ σοι ἀ-
ποκαταστήσω ὁπόταν αἱρῇ χωρὶς πάσης ὑπερθέσεως,
εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐκτείσω σοι κατὰ τ[ὸν τῶ]ν παραθηκῶν νόμον.
10 *κύρια τὰ τῆς παραθήκης γράμ[ματα] ἁ̣π̣λᾶ γραφέντα παντα-*
χῇ ἐπιφερόμενα καὶ παντὶ τῷ [ὑπὲρ σοῦ] ἐπιφέροντι καὶ ἐπερω-
τηθεὶς ὡμολ[όγ]ησα. (ἔτους) [. Αὐτοκρατ]όρων Καισάρων
Πουπλίου Λικιννίου Οὐ[αλε]ρι̣α̣[νοῦ καὶ Πο]υπλίου Λικιννί[ου
Οὐαλεριανοῦ Γαλλιηνοῦ Γερμαν[ικῶν] Μεγίστων Εὐσεβῶ[ν
15 *Εὐτυχῶν καὶ Πουπλίου Λικιννίου [Κορ]νηλίου Cαλωνίνου*
Οὐαλεριανοῦ τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος Cεβαστῶν, Ἁθύρ ζ.

(m. 2) *Αὐρήλιος Θέων ὁ καὶ Ἑρμίας Caραπί[ω]νος ἔσχον ἐν παραθέσι τὰς τοῦ*
ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας κ[αὶ] ἀποκαταστήσω ὡς πρόκιται
καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα.

2–3, 5 ἱερονεικων 7 ⟋S φ 12 L 17 l. παραθέσει

'Aurclius Theon alias Hermias, son of Sarapion, mother Sarapias, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, one of the ephebic victors in the sacred games of the same city, to Aurelius Silvanus alias Sarapion, son of Ptolemy alias Sarapion, from the same city, one of the ephebic victors in the sacred games of the same city, greetings. I agree that I hold on deposit five hundred drachmas of silver of the coinage of the Augusti, total dr. 500, and these I shall restore to you whenever you choose without any procrastination, otherwise I shall pay you (the penalty) in accordance with the law on deposits. The letters of deposit written in a single copy (are to be) valid wherever they are presented and for whoever presents them on your behalf, and in answer to the formal question I gave my consent. Year . . . of Imperatores Caesares P. Licinius Valerianus and P. Licinius Valerianus Gallienus Germanici Maximi Pii Felices, and P. Licinius Cornelius Saloninus Valerianus nobilissimus Caesar, Augusti, Hathyr 7.

(2nd hand) I, Aurelius Theon alias Hermias, son of Sarapion, have received on deposit the five hundred drachmas of silver and I shall restore (them), as aforesaid, and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent.'

2 *τῶν ἐξ ἐφηβείας ἱερονεικῶν*. Cf. Raccolta Lumbroso, 88 seqq., *JEA* 14 (1928) 119. Add also P. Wisc. I 7, as corrected in *ZPE* 1 (1967) 144–5.

12 The regnal year number to be restored is either 6 or 7, denoting A.D. 258/9 or 259/60, because Saloninus was not made Caesar till after the death of his elder brother Valerian Caesar in summer A.D. 258 and he died before the end of A.D. 260, see *PIR*² v, pp. 33–4, L. 183. November A.D. 260 is excluded because Macrianus and Quietus were recognized in Egypt before Hathyr, see e.g. P. Flor. 273 margin (vol. ii, p. 56, p. 240 plate—of Thoth 1, but this is possibly a model only), P. Strassb. 6 iv 27, PSI VII 1049. 17, P. Grenf. I 50. 1 (= P. Lond. 650)—all of Phaophi.

3135. Charioteer's Work Contract

35 4B.64/A(2–5)b 10·7 × 5 cm. *c.* A.D. 273/4?

Though it breaks off after only eight complete lines, this fragment is of interest as the first charioteer's work contract to emerge from Egypt. The charioteer is a citizen of Hermopolis, not a slave or a member of the lowest classes, and he engages to drive the horses of an Oxyrhynchite gymnasiarch in Oxyrhynchus for a festival of contests that is named after and presumably modelled on the Roman *agon Capitolinus*.

The date is a puzzle because of a conflict of evidence. The horse-owning gymnasiarch is called Aurelius Apollonius alias Claudianus, at first sight the same man as the ex-gymnasiarch of the same name attested for the reign of Gordian III in I **80** (P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Liste des gymnasiarques*, no. 292). Doubt is cast on this identification by BGU IV 1074. 16, which refers, apparently unambiguously, to the first Oxyrhynchite performance of the *agon Capitolinus*—*ἀγῶνος ἀγομένου πρώτου ἱεροῦ . . . τῶν μεγάλων Καπιτωλίων*—at a date not long before Mecheir (January/February) A.D. 274 (BGU IV 1073. 20–1), and so about thirty years later. In P. Oslo III 85 what appears to be the same performance is referred to by the same term as appears in the present papyrus, *ἀγὼν Καπετωλιακός*. The chances are, therefore, that this document dates from *c.* A.D. 273/4, or later. The gymnasiarch may be the same man who was active *c.* A.D. 238–44, but after such an interval there is perhaps an equal chance that this is a case of homonymy. If so, this man may be the son or grandson of the earlier one. If, however, the relation between BGU 1073–4 and P. Oslo 85 is illusory, the earlier dating may be

preferable. In favour of this view is the absence in line 3 of the city's title *λαμπρὰ καὶ λαμπροτάτη*, which is rarely omitted after A.D. 272, see *ZPE* 12 (1973) 288.

→ *Αὐρήλιος Δημήτριος Διοφάνους [Ἑρ]μοπο-*
λίτης ἡνίοχος Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀπολλω[νίῳ] τῷ
καὶ Κλαυδιανῷ γυμνασιάρχῳ τῆς Ὀξυρυγ-
χιτῶν πόλεως χα[ί]ρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἑκου-
5 *σίως καὶ αὐθαιρέτως ἡνιοχῖν [c]οι ἐ[π]ὶ τοῖς*
σοῖς ἵπποις τῷ εὐτυχῶς ἀγομένῳ ἐν τῇ
αὐτῇ Ὀξυρυ[γ]χιτῶν πόλει ἱερῷ Καπετ[ω-
λιακῷ ἀγῶ[νι] ὑγιῶς καὶ [πιστ]ῶς ἐ[....
.....].[....]...[....
. . . . .

3–4 *οξυρυγ'χιτων* 5 l. *ἡνιοχεῖν* 7 *οξυρυ[γ]'χιτων, ϊερω*

'Aurelius Demetrius, son of Diophanes, citizen of Hermopolis, charioteer, to Aurelius Apollonius alias Claudianus, gymnasiarch of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, greeting. I agree voluntarily and of my own choice to act as charioteer for you with your horses in the sacred Capitoline games to be auspiciously celebrated in the same city of the Oxyrhynchites, properly and faithfully . . .'

5 *ἡνιοχ(ε)ῖν* appears for the first time in the papyri.

7–8 *Καπετ[ω]*^{8}*λιακῷ*. P. Oslo III 85. 10–11 is reported as *Καπι*^{11}*τωλίνου* but a photograph kindly supplied by Oslo University Library favours *Καπετωλιακοῦ* there too; cf. P. Harris 97. 11 *Καπιτωλιακ( ) ἀγων( )*. It is relevant to repeat here that the year number is uncertain; the fact that the prytanis, whose name should be read as *Εὔπορος* instead of *Λυπρός*, is probably the same as the prytanis of BGU IV 1073, Euporus alias Agathus Daemon, suggests that both are of the same year, namely 5 Aurelian. If so, the date would then be 26 March A.D. 274 and not A.D. 273, see *CÉ* 46 (1971) 154.

3136. Application to Register a Daughter

35 4B.71/H(1–3)a 7·6 × 18·7 cm. 21 June A.D. 292

This fragment, broken at top and bottom and blank on the back, is part of an application from an inhabitant of Oxyrhynchus, Aurelius Sarapion, who asks that his daughter Aurelia Apia, 18 years old, should be registered *ἐν τῇ τῶν ὁμοίων τάξει*. This expression is used in declarations of various types, e.g. notifications of death, cf. BGU I 79. 18, and applications for corn dole, cf. XL **2904** 13, but the document as a whole is rather to be compared with P. Cornell 18, in which a father declares to the systates the age and status of his children, two sons and two daughters. Here *ἐν τῇ τῶν ὁμοίων τάξει* occupies the same place in the formula as the more precise *ἐν τῇ τῶν ὁμηλίκων τάξει*, see P. Cornell 18. 17, PSI III 164. 16, XXXVIII **2853** 16, **3137** 15. It may be that girls were listed in the records by age groups, as boys were, but equally 'persons of the same condition' may mean simply other girls of the same class.

Registrations of girls are even fewer than those of boys. Apart from **3136** and P. Cornell 18, the only certain registration of a girl occurs in BGU XI 2020 (A.D. 125, Arsinoite nome), where two older brothers and the girl's twin brother are also registered. The reading of BGU I 28 is doubtful, see BL iii 8.

All the analogous Oxyrhynchite documents, which are X **1267**, XII **1552**, PSI XII 1257, PSI III 164, P. Cornell 18, XXXVIII **2855**, **3137**, and presumably the fragmentary P. Fuad I Univ. 13, register boys of the 'twelve-drachma gymnasial' class (*δωδεκάδραχμοι ἀπὸ γυμνασίου*). The girls in P. Cornell 18 and **3136** appear to be of the equivalent privileged class. The necessity for registration of girls of this class arose probably because those who claimed the privileged status were required to prove that they were 'born of parents both of the metropolite twelve-drachma class' (*ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων γονέων μητροπολιτῶν δωδεκαδράχμων*, VIII **1109**, X **1306**, PSI X 1109).

In the case of boys it was expedient to submit the declarations in or before their 14th year, during which they underwent the scrutiny (*ἐπίκρισις*), which decided whether they could be admitted to the privileged class or not. This evidently did not apply to girls, because they were not required to pay poll-tax. One of those in P. Cornell 18 was 15 years old and this one is 18. Probably girls would very often be required to prove their status before marriage and an imminent marriage may have prompted this application, though in P. Cornell 18 it seems that the necessity of registering the eldest boy, aged 13, provided an occasion when all four children, including a girl of 7, could conveniently be registered together.

. . . . .

→ .....]..[

.....]...[

θυγατέραν Αὐρηλίαν Ἀπίαν

οὖσαν πρὸς τὸ ἐνεστὸς η (ἔτος) καὶ ζ (ἔτος)

(ἐτῶν) ιη. (vac.) *διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι*

τὸ ὑπόμνημα ἀξιῶν ταγῆναι αὐτὴν

ἐν τῇ τῶν ὁμοίων τάξει ὡς καθή-

κει καὶ ὀμνύω τὸν ἔθιμον Ῥωμαίοις

ὅρκον μὴ ἐψεῦσθαι. ἔτους ηϛ"

Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γαΐου Αὐρηλίου

Οὐαλερίου Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ ζ (ἔτους)'

Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου

Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ Γερμανικῶν Μεγίστω(ν)

Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν, Παῦνι κζ'.

3 l. *θυγατέρα* 4 ηϛ, ζϛ 5 Lιη 11 ζϛ' 13 *μεγιστῶ*

15 (m. 2) *Αὐρήλιος Σαραπίων ἐπιδέ-*
δωκα καὶ ὤμοσα τὸν ὅρκον
ὡς πρόκειται.
(m. 3) *Παμμένους Παραδείσου Ἀπί-*
αν ⟨μητ(ρὸς)⟩ Ἰσιδώρας (ἐτῶν) ιη
20 *φυσικὴ θ[υ]γάτηρ Σαραπίω-*
[νος]
. . . . .

18–19 l. *Ἀπία* 19 *μητ*, Lιη

'. . . (my) daughter Aurelia Apia, who is in the present 8th and 7th year 18 years old. Therefore I submit the application asking that she be enrolled in the category of like persons, as is proper, and I swear the oath customary among Romans that I have told no lies. Year 8 of Imperator Caesar Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus and year 7 of Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus, Germanici Maximi, Pii, Felices, Augusti, Payni 27.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Sarapion, have submitted (the application) and I swore the oath as is aforesaid.'

(3rd hand) 'Pammenes' Garden (district): Apia, mother Isidora, aged 18 years, physical daughter of Sarapion . . .'

3 *θυγατέραν*. Read *θυγατέρα*; for the development of the nasal see Mayser², 1 ii 46(b), Mayser–Schmoll, p. 172 § (a) Anm. 2.

5 No indication of class occurs with the daughter's name. This is also true of the girls in P. Cornell 18, though the boys there and in the other parallels are described as *δωδεκάδραχμοι*, see P. Mertens, *Les Services*, 57.

7 *ἐν τῇ τῶν ὁμοίων τάξει*. See introd.

15 Sarapion is too common a name to identify with certainty, but there is a possibility, suggested by the closeness of the inventory numbers, that he might be the same as the systates of the Pammenes' Garden quarter in **3141** (A.D. 300), and/or the father of Aurelius Apollonius, the horse- and donkey-dealer in **3143** (A.D. 305), **3144** (A.D. 313), and **3145** (s.d.), who also appears in P. Cornell 13 (A.D. 311?; cf. *ZPE* 6 (1970) 181–2). Against the second of these, though not entirely excluding it, counts the fact that the mother of Apollonius is called Dioscorous, see **3143** 5, whereas the mother of this girl is called Isidora.

19 The writer here inadvertently left out the last syllable of the girl's name and the word *μητ(ρός)*. He added *-αν* in the margin immediately before *Ἰσιδώρας*, which is aligned with the beginnings of lines 18 and 20, and then had to add *μητ(ρός)* above the line. The accusative form *Ἀπίαν* is another error, see the nominatives in 20. It may have arisen from the scribe's copying too literally from line 3, or from the development of the weakly pronounced nasal, as in *θυγατέραν* (3).

20 *φυσικὴ*. This reading, though now virtually certain, was arrived at only by the use of a parallel text soon to be published by Dr. A. K. Bowman as XLIV **3183**, which has in this place *υἱοὶ φυσικοί* (line 28). The translation is awkward because the English word 'natural', as applied to children, has become a euphemism for 'illegitimate', whereas the Greek expression, which implies a contrast between 'natural' and 'adopted', rather stresses their legitimacy.

Other passages from the papyri using similar expressions emphasize the ties of affection natural to blood relationships, see P. Lips. 28. 17–19 *ὅνπερ θρέψω . . . ὡς υἱὸν γνήσιον καὶ φυσικὸν ὡς ἐξ ἐ[μ]οῦ γενόμενον*; P. Mil. Vogl. II 73. 8 *ἔστερξεν ὡς φυσικὰ τέκνα*.

3137. Application to Register Children

40 5B.94/D(1–2)b (*a*) 11·5 × 10·5 cm. (*b*) 13 × 5·5 cm. 4 July (?) A.D. 295

There are here two fragments which are not contiguous, so that it is uncertain how many lines are missing between lines 13 and 14. The foot also is not complete and there are traces of a subscription or docket below the date.

The text is an application to register two or more children, submitted by the father to the *κοινόν* of the systatae by the intervention of one of their number. Similar documents are analysed by P. Mertens, *Les Services de l'état civil*, 49 ff. and to these can be added XXXVIII 2855 and the others listed in the introduction to it, and **3136**, but the mention of the board of systatae is new and allows us to modify Professor Mertens's conclusions about the activity of these officials and their predecessors, the amphodogrammateus and the phylarch. He argued that one man held these offices for a year and this remains true in a restricted sense. That is, there was a systates for each tribe, as previously there was an amphodogrammateus or a phylarch. Each tribe provided liturgists normally for one year and during this year its systates could be described as the systates of the city or of the year. From the corn dole archive we have already seen that the phylarchs were active in compiling records outside their year of responsibility for liturgies and then called themselves *γενόμενος φύλαρχος*, see vol. XL, pp. 7–8. Now we find that the systatae acted as a corporation, so that some of them must have continued to have responsibilities even when their tribe was not supplying liturgists.

We may compare also the *κοινόν* of laographi attested in A.D. 290/1 by **2855**. They are addressed through one of their number known from elsewhere as a systates. It is a probable conclusion that the term laographus was at this period equivalent to systates. The use of it in this sense is so far confined to **2855**, but both copies have it and it must be regarded as officially correct, though rare.

→ *τῷ κυ̣ρ̣[ῷ τῶ]ν̣ ϛυστατῶν̣ [τῆς λαμπρᾶς] καὶ λαμπροτά-*
της Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεω[ς τοῦ ἐνε]ϛτῶτος
ι̣ϛ̣ καὶ ι καὶ γ (ἔτους)" δ̣[ιὰ τοῦ ἐνὸς αὐτ]ῶν Αὐρηλίου
Ὡρίωνος Θέωνος [(vac.)?] (vae.)
παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Νείλου τοῦ κα[ὶ .....ο]υ̣ Ἡρακλειανοῦ
τοῦ καὶ Ϲαραπᾶ μητρὸς Διδύ[μης τῆς καὶ] Δημητρίας
ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτ̣[άτης Ὀξυρυγχιτ]ῶν πόλεως.
βούλομαι πρώτως ἀναγραφῆ[ναι ἐφ' οὗ κα]ὶ̣ αὐτὸς ἀναγράφο-
μαι ἀμφόδου Λυκίων Παρε̣[μβολῆς το]ὺς γενομένους μοι
υ̣ἱ̣[οὺς ἐκ] τῆς γενομένη̣[ς καὶ μετ]ηλλαχυίης μοι

1 l. *κοινῷ* 2 *οξυρυγ'χιτων* 3 *ι̣ϛ̣ και ι και γϛ"* 10 *μετ]ηλλαχυΐης*

γυναικὸς Αὐρ]ηλίας Ἀρτεμιδώρας Βησαρίωνος τοῦ καὶ
..... μη]τρὸς Διδύμης τῆς καὶ Δημητρίας (δωδεκαδράχμους)
ἀπὸ γυμνασί]ου Ἡρακλειανὸν [τὸν] καὶ Σαραπᾶν
. . . . .
. . . . .
διὰ τῆς καταχ]ωρι̣ζ[ο]μ[ένης ὑφ' ὑμῶν γραφῆς ἀφη]λί̣κ[ω]ν
ἐν τῇ τῶν ὁμ]ηλίκων τάξει [ὡς καθ]ήκει, καὶ ὀμνύω
τὸ]ν ἔθιμον Ῥωμαίοις ὅρκ[ον μὴ ἐ]ψεῦσθαι.
(ἔτους) ια″ καὶ ιζ″ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν αὐτοκρατόρων
Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ καὶ ἔτους γ″
τῶν κυρίω[ν] ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν
Σεβαστῶν, Ἐπεὶφ ι̣.
.....]....[
. . . . .

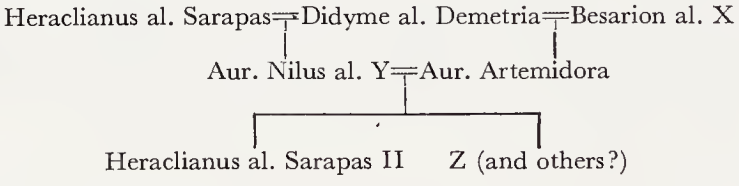
12 ιβζ 17 Lια″ και ιζ″ 18 γ″

'To the corporation of systatae of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites of the present year 11 and 10 and 3 through one of their number Aurelius Horion, son of Theon, from Aurelius Nilus alias . . ., son of Heraclianus alias Sarapas, mother Didyme alias Demetria, from the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites. I wish to have registered for the first time in the quarter in which I am myself registered, Lycians' Camp, the sons born to me of my former and deceased wife Aurelia Artemidora, daughter of Besarion alias . . ., mother Didyme alias Demetria, who are liable to the twelve drachma poll-tax of the gymnasium class, (namely) Heraclianus alias Sarapas . . . [and . . .]. Therefore I submit the application requesting that they be enrolled] in the list of minors filed by you in the category of their contemporaries as is proper and I swear the oath customary among Romans that I have made no false declaration. Year 11 and 10 of our lords the emperors Diocletian and Maximian and year 3 of our lords Constantius and Maximian the most noble Caesars, Pii, Felices, Augusti, Epeiph 10.'

1 κυ̣ν̣[ῷ = κοινῷ. So also XXXVIII 2855 1.

3–4 Aurelius Horion son of Theon is already known as a systates from P. Fuad I Univ. 13 of A.D. 297/8 and XII **1551** of A.D. 303/4. He also occurs in a forthcoming text of A.D. 296/7, inv. 18 2B.71/C(1–2)a.

12 The name of the wife's mother is the same as that of the husband's mother. Barring error or coincidental homonymy the wife was half-sister to the husband, which is not unlikely. The family tree would be as follows.



(δωδεκαδράχμους). Cf. PSI XII 1257. 18 νίοὺς δύο (δωδεκαδράχμους).

13 ff. The text must have continued with the name or names of the other son or sons accompanied by other relevant information, such as quarter of birth, age, and perhaps tax category, on the model of PSI III 164. 14 seqq., 2855 11–14, P. Cornell 18. 16–17.

14 The traces were read with the aid of a text shortly to be published by Dr. A. K. Bowman, as XLIV 3183, which has διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι τὸ ὑπόμνημα ἀξιῶν ταγῆναι αὐτοὺς διὰ τῆς καταχωριζομένης ὑπὸ σοῦ γραφῆς ἀφηλίκων ἐν τῇ τῶν ὁμηλίκων τάξει ὡς καθήκει (16–20). The same formula appears in another forthcoming text, inv. 18 2B.71/C(1–2)a. The remains of καταχ]ω̣ρ̣ι̣ζ̣[ο]μ̣[ένης are sufficiently characteristic for it to be regarded as sure but the meagre traces at the end of the line are uncertainly attributed to individual letters.

3138. Order to Pay

35 4B.71/H(1–3)b 11 × 9 cm. Third century

Arsinous instructs the banker Sarapion to pay to Anicetus, an ὀρθογράφος, 600 dr. for making an extract from the public records of a document of concern to him. The text is of a known type discussed by F. Preisigke, *Girowesen*, 203–9.

Its chief interest is that it provides a clue to the function of an ὀρθογράφος, very uncertain up to now, if we may take it that part of his work was the copying of items from the public records, see 2 n.

↓ Ἀρσίνοος Σαραπίωνι τραπε̣ζ̣ί̣τ̣η̣.
ἐξοδ(ίασον) Ἀνεικήτῳ ὀρθογράφῳ
ὑ(πὲρ) ἐκγλήψεως ὑπομνήματος δια-
φέροντός μοι δραχμὰς ἑξακοσίας,
5 γ̣ί̣(νονται) (δραχμαὶ) χ. ἐ̣ρ̣ρ̣ῶ̣ς̣[θα]ί̣ [σε] ε̣[ὔχ]ο̣μ(αι).
(ἔτους) ζ″ Φαμ[ενώθ
(m. 2) καὶ οἴνου κ̣[

. . . . .

Back → π̣..(vac.) π̣..του[....].[...]...[.].μον̣[

2 εξοδ′ 3 υ᾽, l. ἐκλήψεως 5 γ̣ι̣ ϛ, ε[υχ]ο̣μ 6 Lζ″

'Arsinous to Sarapion, banker. Pay out to Anicetus, orthographus, for making an extract from the public records of a petition (?) concerning me, six hundred drachmas. Total, 600 dr. I pray for your health.'

'Year 7, Phamenoth (day).'

(2nd hand) 'And (one jar?) of wine . . .'

1 There is a possibility, suggested by the closeness of the inventory numbers, that Sarapion is the same banker who appears in XL 2938. His date is not fixed within close limits, see ibid. introd., but he belongs in the second half of the third century. For this document the latest possible date would be 7 Probus = A.D. 281/2, because subsequent seventh years during the early Byzantine period were denoted by more than one figure. Possible would be 7 Philip (A.D. 249 autumn), 7 Valerian and Gallienus (A.D. 259/60), or 7 Aurelian (A.D. 275 autumn). Of these four 7 Valerian and Gallienus is perhaps the most likely, see 2938 introd., though there is perhaps another mention of a banker called

Sarapion from 3 Probus (A.D. 277/8) in BGU IV 1064, so 7 Probus is by no means excluded, even if the references do not all concern the same man.

2 On ἐξοδιάζειν see *ZPE* 3 (1968) 2 n. 3, 3. 1 n.

ὀρθογράφῳ. In literary contexts this usually means a scholar expert in matters of spelling, see esp. Suidas, s.v. ἀνώγεων, and the article headed 'Orthographie' in *RE* xviii 1437–84. There is only one other reference in the Greek papyri to an ὀρθογράφος, namely SB VIII 9902 = P. Gen. inv. 108 A iii 8, in *Recherches de papyrologie* 2 (1962) 41, where in a house-by-house survey of Panopolis there appears an οἰκία ἐπιγώνιος Γερμανοῦ ὀρθογρά(φου) βουλ(ῆς). Among the Latin papyri there is again only one reference, P. Hibeh II 276 (= CPLat. 260) 4–5 *Ammonium orthographum leg( ) n( )*; the abbreviations represent perhaps *leg(ionis) n(ostrae)* or *leg(ati) n(ostri)*. The same word occurs twice in the inscriptions, first in an uninformative honorary inscription from Dura (*AÉ*, 1940, 223 = Rostovtzeff et al., *Dura-Europos, Prelim. Report VII and VIII*, p. 118), and second on a tombstone set up for a young man of twenty described as ὀρθογράφων τὸν ἄριστον ἐνὶ στρατίηϲι φανέντα (*Classical Studies presented to E. Capps* (1936), p. 90 = W. Peek, *Gr. Versinschriften*, no. 592). This seems to tell us fairly plainly that the young man plied his trade in the army, cf. P. Hibeh II 276 above, though the editor translated 'who excelled as the best orthographer in the contests', and concluded that it meant that he was the best speller in his class.

The same trade is expressed by the verb ὀρθογραφεῖν on another tombstone, where a twenty-nine-year-old man is described as ὀρθογραφῶν τὸ πάροϲ, see *Rh. Mus.* 66 (1911) 147–9 (Birt); 149–55 (Brinkmann), after S. Lambros, *Comptes rendus du congrès international d'archéologie* (Athens, 1905), 192 ff. The relief shows the man standing and writing in a diptych, which is open towards the viewer. Different theories about the nature and the material of the diptych and the pen are advanced by Birt and Brinkmann. Birt takes the man to be an expert in orthography and dismisses the suggestion of P. Mitschke (*Archiv für Stenographie* 60 (1909) 198–9) that he is a man whose trade is to write standing up, on the ground that this is too common to require a special mention, see T. Birt, *Die Buchrolle in d. Kunst*, 201, 206–7. Perhaps relevant to this interpretation is the otherwise baffling gloss '*ὀρθοϲτάτηϲ librarius*' (CGL iii 327. 23; we are indebted to Mr. Parsons for the reference). *Librarius legionis* or *legati* is a known military rank, see Domaszewski–Dobson, *Rangordnung*², 39, 48, 71, 73, cf. 37, and we may therefore suspect that in P. Hibeh II 276 *orthographum leg( ) n( )* is equivalent to *librarium leg( ) n( )*, even though the steps in the equation ὀρθοϲτάτηϲ = ὀρθογράφοϲ = *librarius* are still not perfectly obvious and secure.

Because *orthographia* in Vitruvius 1. 2. 2 means an architectural elevation as contrasted with a plan, Mitschke also suggested the possibility that he was an architectural draughtsman, which Birt rejects because the diptych seems unsuitable for this purpose.

Brinkmann compares the diptych with one depicted on another monument as containing shorthand symbols and suggests that the man is a shorthand writer.

After this welter of uncertainty it is a welcome solid fact that the *orthographus* here gets his money for copying a document from the public records for an interested party. The transaction does not appear to have anything to do with literature or with architecture. Moreover, it is a fair inference that he presented his copy to the client in an easily legible script and not in shorthand, however the first transcript was made, see 8 n.

One other definition of ὀρθογραφία has been offered. In his article in *RE* xviii 1437, before going on to the study of orthography, which is his real subject, W. von Strzelecki says in passing that it can mean longhand as the opposite of shorthand, 'Kurrentschrift als Gegensatz zur Tachygraphie'. This explanation has not been taken up elsewhere, apparently, and is based on a single passage from a life of St. Methodius the Confessor, i 2 (Migne, *PG* c 1243), πᾶϲαν γραμματικῆϲ τέχνην καὶ ἱϲτορίαϲ, ὀρθογραφίαν τε καὶ ὀξυγραφίαν κατωρθωκὼϲ ἐκ παιδόϲ. It is not absolutely clear from this that Strzelecki's interpretation is correct, but in the light of 3138, it takes on a new attraction.

If orthographus means no more than scribe, it may indeed be true that it is a word invented with the opposition to shorthand in mind, perhaps with the aim of bringing the ordinary scribe up to the status of the specially skilled σημειογράφοϲ. On the other hand, if the signs on the back of this document are shorthand, see 8 n., it may be that shorthand did enter into the trace of the orthographus. Yet the passage just quoted indicates that ὀρθογραφία was separated from ὀξυγραφία. We suggest, very tentatively, that the orthographus might have been the ancient equivalent of a shorthand typist, that is, that

his work consisted of two parts, the rapid notation of a text by means of shorthand, and the preparation of a fair copy in longhand.

3 ἐκχλήψεωc. Absolutely correct would be ἐκλήψεωc; ἔγληψιc and ἔγλημψιc are found regularly in the papyri, see Mayser, i 195, 226–7, Mayser–Schmoll, i i 166, 202.

On extracts from the records cf. e.g. P. Flor. I 46 = M. *Chrest.* 185, XXXVIII **2848**, and especially P. Yale 61.

The word ὑπόμνημα has several technical meanings, see *WB* s.v. Here 'petition' (*WB* § a) is not unlikely, see e.g. P. Yale 61 introd. pp. 187–8, but we may also think of a record of court proceedings (*WB* § d).

4–5 Since in A.D. 301 Diocletian fixed the price of 100 lines of hexameter length of the finest writing as 25 den. = 100 dr. (S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt*, 7. 39, cf. 40, pp. 120–1), it might be deduced that this specimen, from 20 to 40 years earlier (see 1 n.) and probably not absolutely of 'the finest writing', and yet costing 600 dr., might have been as long as or even longer than an average book of the *Iliad*. In this connection Dr. Coles reminds us of the petition of Dionysia in II **237**, the back of which was subsequently used for a manuscript of *Iliad* v (**233**). Of course, this calculation depends on the view that the *orthographus* is a mere copyist. If he was also competent in shorthand, as suggested in 2 n., his work may very well have been more expensive.

7 κ[probably stands for κ[ερά̣μιον ἕν, see *Symb. Osl.* 17 (1937) 40. For extra payments in kind see ibid. 26–48. It is not surprising that the scribe's contract should have included payments in both money and kind and we know too that the banks kept summary records of contracts which gave rise to payments through them, including notes of the payments in kind, see P. Ross.-Georg. III 18 and introd., citing also P. Flor. I 24, 25; P. Cair. Preis. 31; PSI VIII 921, but it is far from clear how the bank could honour an instruction to issue wine, if that is what this additional notation means. The banker could perhaps, on receipt of the order, have given the bearer a further document to be presented at the appropriate shop or estate.

8 On the back we expect either an address or a note of the contents of the front. The traces are very puzzling. After a squarish initial π, which could perhaps be τρ for τρ(απεζ-), there is a tiny circle cut by a very long line descending at a steep angle from high on the left to low on the right. Next comes a similar group, except that the circle is more like the oval loop of an alpha and the long line more curved at the top left. After a blank of *c.* 1 cm. comes a rounded π damaged at the top, then some damaged ink and the top of another oblique stroke like the preceding ones. After that του is clear and the subsequent letters and traces at least look like Greek. The obvious possibilities, ἀπόδ(οc), π(αρά), ἐξοδ(ια-), are not recognizable.

The symbols after the initial π or τρ may be shorthand. The first has a resemblance to one in H. J. M. Milne, *Greek Shorthand Manuals*, p. 60 (689), the second a resemblance to ibid. p. 59 (681). None of the equivalents given there, five in each case, could make the slightest sense in this context, but the general resemblance suggests that these signs may be shorthand, though they are mixed up with ordinary Greek letters in an odd way. See 2 n. for what this may suggest about the function of an orthographus.

3139. Deed of Divorce

35 4B.65/H(1–5)a 11 × 12·9 cm. Late third/fourth century

This is the top portion of a contract of divorce dating, to judge from the handwriting, from the third or early fourth century. An approximate *terminus post quem* is provided by the use of the double titulature λαμπρὰ καὶ λαμπροτάτη for the city of Oxyrhynchus, of which the earliest dated occurrence is in X **1264** of A.D. 272, see *JEA* 38 (1952) 78 and n. 4, *ZPE* 12 (1973) 285.

On such contracts in general see *Aegyptus* 16 (1936) 3–83 and most lately A. Merklein, *Das Ehescheidungsrecht . . . der byzantinischen Zeit* (Diss. Erlangen, 1967). The

missing portion was probably very much like XXXVI **2770** 24–36, which contain a stipulation formula, a date, and the subscription of one of the parties.

→ *Αὐρήλιοι Θῶνις ὁ καὶ Διοσκουρίδης καὶ ἡ γυ-*
νὴ Αὐρηλία Cερηνίλλα θυγατὴρ Cυρίωνος
τοῦ καὶ Εὐcτοχίου γενομένου γυμναcιάρχου
τῆς λαμπ(ρᾶς) καὶ λαμπ(ροτάτης) Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως
χαίρειν. ὁμολογοῦμεν ἀπεζεῦχθαι τῆς πρὸς
ἀλλήλους cυμβιώcεως καὶ μηδὲν ἀλλήλοις
ἐνκαλεῖν μηδὲ ἐνκαλ̣[έ]c̣ειν μηδὲ ἐπελεύcεcθαι
περὶ μηδεν̣ὸc ἀ̣[παξαπλῶ]c ἐνγράφου ἢ
ἀγράφου πράγμα̣τ̣[oc τὸ c]ύ̣νολον τῶν τῇ
αὐτῇ cυμβιώcει .[..].ν cυντεινόντων,
ἐξεῖναι δὲ ὁπ̣ο̣τέρῳ [..].ειν cυνέρχεcθαι
ᾧ̣ ἐὰν αἱρῆται γάμ[ῳ] ἀνευθύνῳ κ̣αὶ
ἀνε̣λκλήτῳ ὄντι, τ[ῷ̣] ἕ̣καcτον ἡμῶν
ἀπεcχηκέναι τὰ ἑαυ̣τ̣οῦ ἐκ πλήρους. κύρι̣α
τὰ τ]ῆ̣c περιλύcεω̣c̣ καὶ ἀνεγκληcίας γράμ-
ματα] δ̣ι̣ς̣[cὰ γ]ρ̣αφέντ̣α̣ πρὸc τὸ ἑκ[άτερο]ν̣

. . . . .

1 l. *Αὐρήλιος* 4 *λαμ) καὶ λαμ)* 13 l. *ἀνεγκλήτῳ* 15 *ανεγ'κληcιας*

'Aurelius Thonis alias Dioscurides and his wife Aurelia Serenilla, daughter of Syrion alias Eustochius formerly gymnasiarch of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, greeting. We agree to dissolve our marriage to one another and not to bring any charge, now or in future, against one another, and to take no legal proceedings at all about any matter whatsoever, written or unwritten, among those that concern our (?) said marriage; that each (of us?) has the right to marry by whatever sort of marriage he chooses, without incurring liability or claim, since each of us has recovered his own property in full. The contract of divorce and freedom from liability (is to be) valid, written in two copies, so that each party (may have a single copy) . . .'

2–3 Syrion alias Eustochius does not appear in P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Liste des gymnasiarques*.

8 ἀ̣[παξαπλῶ]c. Cf. e.g. P. Grenf. II 76. 17, P. Lips. 27. 30.

10 .[..].ν. The descender after the gap is almost certainly *iota*. The parallel passage in VI **906** has *τῶν εἰc τὴν cυμβίωcιν τοῦ Διογένουc καὶ τῆc Πλουτάρχηc τεινόντων*, which suggests that here we have *ἡ̣[με]ῖ̣ν* by mistake for *ἡμῶν*, see 11 n. If not, perhaps *τ̣[ὸ πρ]ί̣ν* would do as a stop-gap, but this contradicts the present tense of the participle.

11 [..].ειν. The parallel passage in **2770** has *ὁποτέρῳ ἡμῷ̣[ν*, which suggests that *ἡ]μεῖν* was written here by mistake for *ἡμῶν*, cf. 10 n.

12 Mr. Parsons points out that the reading *ᾧ̣ ἐὰν αἱρῆται γάμ[ῳ] κτλ.* suggests that we should read *ὧι̣* instead of *ὡς* in the very similar context of VI **906** 7–8, in spite of the note to that place. From a photograph of **906** it appears that line 7 ended originally *ωεαναιρη* and that a letter was afterwards inserted above the line between *ω* and *ε*. The additional letter certainly looks like sigma and could only with difficulty be taken as an iota. Nevertheless the new document probably justifies us in accepting the wording *ᾧ̣ ἐὰν αἱρῆται γάμῳ* in **906** 7–8, whether we read *ὧ̣ι̣'* or bracket the inserted letter.

13 ἀνελκλήτῳ. This is probably the scribe's misreading of a form written with an apostrophe, ἀνεγ'κλήτῳ. Just possibly we should give him the benefit of the doubt and read it so, but *lambda* seems very clear and very different from *gamma* plus apostrophe in 15.

3140. Petition concerning a Theft

40 5B.94/F(1–3)a 11 × 13 cm. Third/fourth century

The top of this petition is lost and no date survives. The handwriting may be assigned to the late third or early fourth century, cf. P. Flor. II 148 (A.D. 267) and P. Cair. Isid. 13 (pl. iii; A.D. 314). Petitions of this sort could be addressed to many officials. Among the more likely candidates are a strategus or *exactor*, see J. Lallemand, *L'Administration civile* 111 and n. 5, a *defensor*, ib. 116 and n. 6, a *praepositus pagi*, ib. 131–2 and n. 1 (132), and a *beneficiarius*, ib. 74 and n. 4.

The petitioner complains of the theft of a piece of machinery from an Oxyrhynchite farmstead, and asks for steps to be taken against the thief, whom he has obviously identified in the lost part of the text.

Though the end of the petition and the subscription are followed by a blank space of about 5 cm. deep, the bottom margin is damaged and further subscriptions or annotations may have been lost, cf. 12 n. The back is blank.

. . . . .

→ .....] ὑπεναντίον

.[..]..[.....].[.].[..]. καὶ οὕτως ἐν

δευτέρῳ θέμενος τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν νόμων

κίνησιν ἐπιβὰς ἐποικίῳ Τβὼ λῃστρικῷ

5 τρόπῳ χαμουργοῦ ἡμετέρου μετὰ καὶ

ἄλλων σκευῶν ἀποκιμένου ἐκῖσε

ἀφ' ἰδίας ἐξουσίας ἀπεσύλησεν καὶ τού-

του χάριν τὰ βιβλία ἐπιδίδωμι αἰτιώ-

μενος αὐτὸν καὶ ἀξιῶ μετακλη-

10 θῆναι τοῦτον καὶ τὴν δέουσαν ἐπε-

ξέλευσιν γενέσθαι.

Αὐρήλιος Σερῆνος ἐπιδέδωκα.

(vac.)

].[

. . . . .

5 l. χαμουλκοῦ

'. . . and so, considering as a matter of secondary importance the punitive action of the law, having entered the farmstead of Tbo in marauding fashion, where our winch was stored with other implements, he carried (it) off on his own authority, and for this reason I submit the petition accusing him and I ask that he be summoned and that the necessary proceedings be taken.

'I, Aurelius Sarapion, have submitted (the petition).'

4 *κίνηcιν*. The meaning 'sentence, punishment' is recorded in Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. *κίνηcιc* E.

ἐποικίῳ Τβώ. See also XVI **2036** 6, cf. 19, 30 *ἐποίκιον Τβὼ Λεβίτου* (which are not in *WB* or Suppl. Abschn. 16a), and SB I 1989k *χωρ(ίον) Τβώ*.

5 *χαμουργοῦ*. Read *χαμουλκοῦ*. The pronunciation of Greek liquids and stops was difficult for Egyptians; for confusion of liquids, see Mayser–Schmoll I i 161–2; for stops, *TAPA* 101 (1970) 185–202, esp. 191 for this change. The intermediate form *χαμουλγός* appears also, see e.g. BGU IV 1028. 24. The form *χαμουργός* looks plausibly Greek, particularly as the word *ἐργάτης* also means something like a capstan or windlass, though it may be more specifically the cog mechanism of the sakiyeh, see *BASP* 6 (1969) 57–8, cf. ibid. 5 (1968) 100–1.

6 *ἐκῖcε*. For *ἐκεῖcε* = *ἐκεῖ*, cf. LSJ s.v. II.

7 For the false aspiration of *ἀφ' ἰδίαc* see Mayser–Schmoll I i 174–5.

8 *τὰ βιβλία*. At this period *βιβλία* was gradually replacing *βιβλίδια* in the meaning 'petition', see *Archiv* 5 (1913) 262–3.

12 The hand of the subscription appears to be the same as that of the body of the text. Below this line the papyrus is blank for the space of about 5 cm, but the bottom edge is broken irregularly and there is an illegible trace of ink on the tip of one of the points. It may be that there was more writing, perhaps the subscription of an amanuensis, or a date, or else the trace may be accidental ink.

3141. Notice of Death

35 4B.71/B(4–5)a 11·5 × 15 cm. January–August A.D. 300

The papyrus, which has lost a few lines at the foot and is blank on the back, contains a declaration of death. The standard list of parallel documents is to be found in *Aegyptus* 26 (1946) 111–29. Subsequent additions are listed in the introduction to P. Petaus 3–8; add XXXVI **2837**, XLI **2957**, and P. Mich. IX 538, X 579. [Add now P. Strasb. 530, with the list appended there on p. 48.] For a study of Oxyrhynchite examples from the third century see P. Mertens, *Les Services*, 66–77. A death notice of a different type is **3104**.

Although the certain chronological limits are 1 January and 28 August A.D. 300, there is a likelihood that the document was dated before Phamenoth 1 = 26th February, that is to say before the middle of the Egyptian year, because, if a man died during the first half of the year, his family was liable for only half of the annual amount of capitation tax, and the declarations therefore tended to accumulate at the approach of Phamenoth 1 and Thoth 1, see Mertens, op. cit., 72, 73–4.

At the foot part of the date has been lost. As well as this there may have been subscriptions of the declarer and the officials involved, but these are absent more often than not, see P. Mich. X 579 introd.

→ ἐπ[ὶ ὑπά]των τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου
καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων τὸ γ″.
Αὐρηλίῳ Σαραπίωνι συστάτῃ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὀξυ-
ρυγχιτῶν πόλεως ἀμφόδου Παμμένους Παραδείσου
5 καὶ ἄλλων, (vac.)
παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Τινεῦτος Λυκαρίωνος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πό-
λεως. ὁ γενόμενος ἀνὴρ τῆς θυγατρός μου Αὐρή-
λιος Εὐδαίμων Εὐδαίμονος μη(τρὸς) Τααφύγχιος ἀπὸ τῆς
αὐτῆς πόλεως ἐριοπώλης τυγχάνων ἀνα-
10 γραφόμενος ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Παμένους Παραδεί-
σου ἔτι ἀπὸ ια′ τοῦ Φαῶφι μηνὸς τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος
ις (ἔτους) καὶ ιε (ἔτους) καὶ η (ἔτους) τὸν βίον μετήλλαξεν. ὅθεν
ἐπιδίδωμι τήνδε τὴν ἐλάττοσιν ἀξιοῦ-
σα κουφισθῆναι αὐτὸν καὶ ἀναλημφθῆναι τῇ
15 τῶν τετελευτηκότων τάξει πρὸς τὸ ἔχειν με
τὸ ἀνενόχλητον περὶ τῶν ἀνηκόντων τῇ χρείᾳ
τῶν ἐριοπωλῶν καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἐπικεφαλαίου
καὶ ὀμνύω τὸν ἔθιμον Ῥωμαίοις ὅρκον μὴ ἐψεῦσθαι.
(ἔτους) ις καὶ (ἔτους) ιε τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ
20 καὶ Μαξιμια]νοῦ Σεβαστ[τῶ]ν καὶ (ἔτους) [η τῶν κυρίων

. . . . .

3 λαμ' 8 μη' 10 l. *Παμμένους* 12 ις″, ιε″, η″ 13 ελατ'τοσιν l. ἐλάττωσιν 19 Lις, Lιε

'In the consulship of our lords Constantius and Maximian, the most noble Caesars, (both) for the third time.'

'To Aurelius Sarapion, systates of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, of the district of Pammenes' Garden, and other (districts), from Aurelia Tineus, daughter of Lycarion, from the same city. My daughter's late husband, Aurelius Eudaemon, son of Eudaemon, mother Taaphynchis, from the same city, who was a wool-seller, registered in the district of Pammenes' Garden, as long ago as the 11th of the month of Phaophi of the present 16th, 15th, and 8th year, departed this life. Therefore I submit this application for removal from the records, asking that he be withdrawn from the tax records, and enrolled in the category of the deceased, so that I may be free of molestation over matters pertaining to the trade of the wool-sellers and over capitation tax, and I swear the oath customary among Romans that I have told no lies. Year 16 and 15 of our lords Diocletian and Maximian, Augusti, and year [8 of our lords Constantius and Maximian, most noble Caesars, (month, day)].'

3 This systates appears also in XLII **3036–8, 3041.**

5 *καὶ ἄλλων*, sc. *ἀμφόδων*. Cf. e.g. P. Flor. I 39. 4, IX **1116** 5–6, PSI X 1108. 5–6. There seems no absolute need to insert ⟨*ἀμφόδων*⟩, though there is so far no other case of its omission.

13 *ελατ'τοσιν* l. *ἐλάττωσιν*. This word is new in the papyri and completely new in this sense. It is to be connected with the use of *ἐλαccοῦν* in death notices to mean 'strike out in the tax-list', see *WB* s.v. 3.

16–17 In this connection the expression 'the things that pertain to the trade of the wool-sellers' must refer, principally at least, to the trade taxes, on which see S. L. Wallace, *Taxation*, 211. On the capitation tax of this period see A. Déléage, *La Capitation du Bas-Empire*, 46 ff., A. C. Johnson and L. C. West, *Byz. Egypt, Econ. Studies*, 260 ff. Cf. **3142** introd. and 12 n.

3142. Receipt for ἐπικεφάλαιον

32 4B.3/H(1–2)b 9·7 × 25·5 cm. 26 July A.D. 301

For this type of tax receipt see XXXI **2578–9** introd., with the modification mentioned here in 12 n., and XLII **3036–45** introd., where this document is included as no. 8 in the table. On this sheet a lower margin about 14 cm. deep remains empty, cf. PSI VII 780 introd., XLII **3036** 17 n., **3039** *app. crit.* (p. 106), **3042** *app. crit.* (p. 108), **3045** *app. crit.* (p. 109). Probably it was intended to add further receipts, cf. e.g. XXXIV **2717**, XLII **3037**, but the intention was never carried out and even the official subscription for this payment is absent.

→ ἔτους ιζ͵ς καὶ ἔτους ις͵ς τῶν κυ-
ρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ
Μαξιμιανοῦ Cεβαστῶν καὶ ἔτους
ἐνάτου τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν
5 Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων
Μεσορὴ β′. διεγράφη ὑπὲρ ἐπι-
καιφαλαίου τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους
ἀκολούθως τοῖς κελευσθεῖσει
10 ὑπὸ τοῦ διασημοτάτου ἡγεμόνος
Ἡρακλῆς Ἡρακλήου ὀνηλάτης
ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς χειλίας
διακοσίας γ(ίονται) (δραχμαὶ) ͵Ας.

7–8 l. ἐπικεφαλαίου 9 l. κελευσθεῖσι 10 ὕπο 12 l. χιλίας 13 γ͵ς

'Year 17 and year 16 of our lords Diocletian and Maximian, Augusti, and year nine of our lords Constantius and Maximian, most noble Caesars, Mesore 2. There was paid for capitation tax of the present year in accordance with the orders given by the most perfect prefect (in the name of) Heracles, son of Heracleus, donkey driver, one thousand two hundred drachmas, total 1,200 dr.'

12 The amount of 1,200 dr. is common, and contrary to what was suggested in **2578–9** introd. other amounts are probably to be explained by the addition of arrears or as part of multiple payments. In PSI IV 302. 8 the readings (μυριάδες) ϰ͵ε (*ed. pr.*) or η (**2578–9** introd.) ought to be rejected because at this point, after the payer's name, the common form requires either his father's name or his occupation and because the amount paid should be expressed in words before any symbols or figures appear. Examination of the original has not produced a certain reading, but the letters after Ἀντιμάχου could

best be interpreted as *ϲιν̣-* or *ϲιπ̣-*. The second seemed interesting in view of **2579** 9 *ϲιππαϲδεϲ* (= *ϲιππᾶτεϲ*?), but there are also remains of one more line, not recorded in the *ed. pr.*, and the traces there, though meagre, do not favour any similar reading. There is a dot of stray ink under the cap of *ϲ* in 9, which makes the *ϲι* combination look a little like the usual symbol for *μυριάδεϲ*, i.e. ⌒ .

3143. Sale of a Donkey

35 4B.66/J(2–3)a 13×26 cm. 27 May or 14 June A.D. 305

Complete, except for a small rectangle torn away from the bottom right, and blank on the back, this papyrus contains a sale of a bronze-coloured donkey. The unusual colour perhaps accounts in part for its high cost, see 10, 13 nn.

The seller is Aurelius Apollonius, son of Sarapion and Dioscorous, who is also a party to sales of animals in **3144** (A.D. 313), **3145** (s.d.), and P. Cornell 13 (A.D. 311?; see *ZPE* 6 (1970) 181–2). He may well have been a dealer in livestock. The buyer is apparently a cavalryman with the rather unusual rank of *ἕξαρχοϲ*, see 6 n.

The law on sales of animals is summarized by R. Taubenschlag, *Law*², 334–6.

There are three standard lists of donkey sales: O. Montevecchi, *Aegyptus* 19 (1939) 33, A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, 230–1, Johnson and West, *Byz. Egypt, Econ. Stud.* 212–13. Recently published examples are P. Mich. IX 551, 552 (?), 553; P. Mert. III 106, 120; XXXIX **2846**; P. Med. inv. 68. 60 (*Aegyptus* 50 (1970) 36–8). Other additions to the standard lists mentioned in these publications and in P. Wisc. I 15 (p. 61) can be conflated to read as follows: P. Strasb. 139, 215, 251, P. Aberd. 55, P. Ath. 27, P. Cair. Isid. 84 (= SB VI 9221), 86, PSI XIV 1417, SB V 8021 (= *Recherches de papyrologie* iii 70–1), VI 9214, SB VIII 9829 (*Symb. Oslo.* 37 (1961) 116–17). See also **3145**. [Add P. Strasb. 504.]

→ *ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν*
Κωνϲταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν
ἐπιφανεϲτάτων Καιϲάρων τὸ ε⁻.
Αὐρήλιοϲ Ἀπολλώνιοϲ Ϲαραπίωνοϲ
5 *μη(τρὸϲ) Διοϲκοροῦτοϲ ἀπὸ τῆϲ λαμ(πρᾶϲ) καὶ λαμ(προτάτηϲ)*
Ὀξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλεωϲ Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀρπ̣έ̣ϲτλῃ ἑξάρχων̣
ἀναφερομένων Οὐρραν̣ανῷ πραιπο-
ϲίτῳ χαίρ̣ειν. ὁμολογῶ πεπρακέναι
ϲοι ἐν τῇ Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν π̣όλει ὄνον ἄρ-
10 *ρενα χαλκόχρῳον δευτεροβόλον,*
τιμῆϲ τῆϲ ϲυμπεφωνημένηϲ πρὸϲ
ἀλλήλουϲ ἀργυρίου Ϲεβαϲτῶν νομίϲμα-

5 *μη᾽, λαμϛ, λαμϛ* 6 *οξ′*

τος τάλαντα δεκαπέντε (γίνονται) (τάλαντα) ιε, ἅπερ
ἔςχον παρὰ ςοῦ ἐκ πλήρους, τὸν δ' αὐ-
τὸν ὄνον ἐντεῦθεν παρείληφας πα-
ρ' ἐμοῦ τοῦτον τοιοῦτον ἀναπόρριφον,
ὃν καὶ βεβαιώςω ςοι πάςῃ βεβαιώς̣ε̣ι
καὶ τὸν ἐπελευςόμενόν ςοι τούτου χά-
ριν ἀποςτήςω ἐπάναγκες παραχρῆ-
μα καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης. κυρία ἡ πρᾶςις
καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγηςα. (ἔτους) κα″ καὶ
ιγϛ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ
καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαςτῶν καὶ Κωνςταντίου
καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεςτάτων
Καιςάρων, Παῦνι .¯.

(m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Ἀπολλώνιος πέπρακα
τὸν προκίμενον ὄνων κὲ ἀπέςχον
τὰ τῆς τιμῆς ἀργυρίου τ̣ά̣λ̣α̣ντα
δεκαπέντε̣ [...]...[.....]β̣ε̣[..
ςω ὡς πρόκιτ[αι καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς
ὡμολόγηςεν [
Αὐρήλειος Ζῆθος .[

13 /Ϲιε 21 Lκα″ 27 l. ὄνον καί

'In the consulship of our lords Constantius and Maximian, the most noble Caesars, for the 5th time.'

'Aurelius Apollonius, son of Sarapion, mother Dioscorous, from the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, to Aurelius Arpestles (?) one of the hexarchs seconded to Urrananus (?), *praepositus*, greetings. I agree that I have sold to you in the city of the Oxyrhynchites a male donkey, bronze-coloured, which is changing its teeth for the second time, at the price agreed between us of fifteen talents of silver of the coinage of the Augusti, total 15 tal., which I received from you in full, and you have taken delivery of the same donkey from me on the spot, just as it is, unreturnable, which I shall also guarantee for you with every warranty and I shall necessarily oppose anyone who takes action against you concerning it immediately, as if in virtue of a legal decision. The sale is valid and in answer to the formal question I have given my assent. Year 21 and 13 of my lords Diocletian and Maximian, Augusti, and Constantius and Maximian, the most noble Caesars, Payni (2 or 20).'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Apollonius, have sold the aforesaid donkey and I have received the fifteen talents of silver of the price in full (?) and I shall guarantee, as is aforesaid, and in answer to the formal question he has given his assent.'

'I, Aurelius Zethus, wrote on his behalf because he does not know letters.'

6 Ἀρπ̣έ̣ςτλῃ. Although the middle is doubtfully read it seems certain that this name does not appear in *NB*, Foraboschi, *Supplementum*, or in Dornseiff–Hansen, *Rückl. Wb. d. gr. Eigenn.*

ἑξάρχων̣. At the end of the word the ω has an extra bow and the stroke then continues rising sharply above the line where it ends in a short horizontal. The rank is virtually certain to be the one explained

by R. Grosse, *Röm. Militärgesch. v. Gallienus b. z. Beginn d. byz. Themenverfassung*, 109–10, as ἔξαρχος, a non-commissioned officer of cavalry in charge of a squad of six troopers, even though it is usually spelt in Latin without an *h*. If we take the reading and the spelling as correct, we should translate 'one of the hexarchs seconded to . . .', but the suspicion arises that ἑξάρχῳ may have been intended, 'hexarch of (cavalry) seconded to . . .'

The only other reference in the papyri to a ἔξαρχος is M. *Chrest.* 196. 7–8. The same sense is probably intended in P. Aberd. 21. 7 *Μαρτινιανῷ ἑξάρχο(ντι) (sic)*.

7 *ἀναφερομένων*. Cf. P. Abinn. 60. 2 n. (The last refcrence there should read P. Beatty Panop. 2. 57.) According to the citations there the usual construction is with the dative, cf. **3146** 6, or εἰς and the accusative. We may suspect that in P. Abinn. 60. 2 *στρατι[ώ]της ἀναφερόμε[νος] ἐν κάστροις Διον[υ]σιάδο[ς]* should be corrected to *ἀναφερομέ[ν]ων κάστροις*. If that were so, it would strengthen the suspicion that we should here read *ἑξάρχῳ ἀναφερομένων*, see 6 n., cf. P. Grenf. II 74. 1–2 *[ς]τρατιώτης ἱππεὺς προμώτων σεκούντων*.

Οὐρραγανῷ. Possibly Uranianus is the name intended, but it is unlikely that *-γιανῷ* can have been written; cf. perhaps, Mayser–Schmoll I i p. 126 § 27a. The gemination of the *ρ* would be no obstacle, see ibid. p. 193 § 3b. Uranianus seems not to be found in Greek or Latin, but cf. *ILS* 9093, which apparently attests that *Οὐράνιος* was taken into Latin as the *signum* Uranius.

10 *χαλκόχρῳον*. *Add. lexx.*, whatever form is intended. Read probably *χαλκόχροον*. The doubtful *ω* does not appear to have suffered damage, though there is a hole very close to the lower left of it, but it is remotely possible that we should read instead *χαλκόχρωμον* (= *-χρωμον*).

δευτεροβόλον. The development of immature donkeys was defined by reference to their changes of teeth. This term means in effect that it was from 3 to 3½ years old, see *RE* vi 633.

13 The price of fifteen talents is higher than any in the convenient list of contemporary prices in *ZPE* 6 (1970) 181. Next highest is 10 tal. 4000 dr., paid in A.D. 311 for a male donkey at the same stage of growth as this one (*δευτεροβόλος*). In this inflationary period we might expect a similar animal to fetch more in A.D. 311 than in A.D. 305. About A.D. 313/14 two female donkeys were bought for 40 tal. and one of them resold for 27 tal., see P. Cair. Isid. 72. 19–26; 73. 9–11. The value of the present animal may have been enhanced by its unusual colour, see 10 n. For the usual colours see M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 336. The fact that the buyer was a soldier may also have affected the price. Certainly horses for military use were much dearer than others, see BGU XI 2049 introd., **3144** 9 n.

21–5 On the dating by only two regnal year numbers see Chastagnol, *Rev. num.* 9 (1967) 54–81; Thomas, *CÉ* 46 (1971) 173–9.

25 The figure for the day is undamaged. It is very like *κ* in *ἐκ πλήρους* (14) and equally like the first *β* in *βεβαιώσω* (17). Both Payni 2 and Payni 20 are possible, that is, 27 May or 14 June A.D. 305. Diocletian abdicated on 1 May, and the news of it had evidently not officially reached Oxyrhynchus on the date of the contract. It must have been well on its way by the later of the two possible dates, but no choice is possible between them, because on Payni 29, 23 June, the date formula in use at Karanis had still not been changed, see P. Cair. Isid. 41. 75.

29–30 Restore probably *[ἐκ π]λήρ[ους κὲ] βε[βεώ]*^{30}*σω*, cf. 14, but this may be too cramped at the end. In which case perhaps it was *[πλή]ρη κ[αὶ βε]βε[ώ]*^{30}*σω*.

31–2 *ὡμολόγησεν*. It seems that the amanuensis here slipped into the third person though writing at first as if he were the seller, as is usual. Most likely the rest of 31 was blank and 32 contained the amanuensis formula drastically abbreviated, e.g. *ε[γρϛυ]*^{a}*μηει*^{δ}*γρϛ* = *ἐ[γρ(αψα) ὑ(πὲρ) α(ὐτοῦ) μὴ εἰδ(ότος) γρ(άμματα)*.

3144. Sale of a Horse

35 4B.66/J(1)a 19×25 cm. 23 July A.D. 313

Aurelius Domnus, resident in Hermopolis, sells a horse for 30 talents to Aurelius Apollonius of Oxyrhynchus, on whom see **3143** introd. The deed of sale, although drawn up in the customary formulas, raises several interesting points of detail, see notes. The back is blank.

→ ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν [Γ]αλερίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμίνου
καὶ Φλαουίου Οὐα[λε]ρίου Κων[c]ταντίνου Cεβαστῶν τὸ ϝ.
Αὐ[ρ]ήλιος Δόμνος υἱὸς Διονυσίου κ̣α̣τ̣α̣μ̣ε̣νι ἐν τῇ μεγά-
λῃ Ἑρμοῦ πόλι̣ ἐν τῇ παρεμπολῇ χωρίου ἀπηλιωτικο̣ῦ
5 Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀπολ[λ]ω̣νίῳ Cαραπίωνος ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ
λαμ(προτάτης) Ὀξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλεως χέριν. ὁμολ[ο]γῶ παιπρακένε coι ἐν
τῷ Ὀξ(υρυγχίτῃ) ἵππον ἄρενα ψαρὸν τέλιον Καμπάδοκα
ἔχοντα τὸν δεξιὸν πόδα τὸ c ψυ̣τ̣ρακαυτηρας,
τιμῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἵππου ἀργυρίου ταλάντων τριάκοντα,
10 ἅπερ αὐτόθει ἀπέσχον παρὰ coῦ ἐκ πλήρους διὰ χιρός,
περὶ ἧς ἀριθμήσεως καὶ αἰπαιρωτητὶc ὑπὸ coῦ ὁμολόγη-
ca καὶ βαιβεώσω coι τὸν ἵππον πάσι βεβαιώσι καὶ
τὸν επελεcον ἢ ἐνποιηcόμενον τούτου χάριν ἢ μέρους
αὐτοῦc ἐπάνα̣κ̣ες ἀποστήcιν με παραχρῆμα ταῖc
15 αἱμαυτοῦ ζαπάναις καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης. κυρία ἡ πρᾶ-
cις ἁπλῆ γραφῖca καὶ αἰπ̣ε̣ρωτητὶc ὑπὸ coῦ ὁμολόγηca.
ὑπατείας τῆς προκιμένης, Ἐπειὶφ κθ'.

(vac.)

(m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Δόμνος πέπρακα τὸν προκείμενον
εἵπον κὲ ἀπέσχον τὰ τῆς τιμῆς ἀργυρίου
20 τάλαντα τριάκοντα κὲ βεβεώσω ὡς πρόκι᾽τ᾽ε
κὲ ἐπερωθηθὶc ὁμολόγηca.

1 ϋπατειας 2 φλαουΐου 3 υϊος, l. καταμένων (or ὃc καταμένει?) 4 l. Ἑρμοῦ πόλει, παρεμβολῇ 6 λαμζ οξ', l. χαίρειν, πεπρακέναι 7 οξ', l. ἄρρενα, τέλειον Καππάδοκα 8 l. ψυχροκαυτῆρας *vel sim.* 10 l. αὐτόθι, χειρός 11 l. ἐπερωτηθείς, ὡμολόγηca 12 l. βεβαιώσω, πάcῃ βεβαιώcει 13 l. ἐπελευcόμενον 14 l. αὐτοῦ ἐπάναγκες ἀποστήcειν 15 l. ἐμαυτοῦ δαπάναις 16 l. γραφεῖca, ἐπερωτηθείς, ὡμολόγηca 17 l. προκειμένης 19 l. ἵππον καί 20 l. καὶ βεβαιώσω, πρόκειται 21 l. καὶ ἐπερωτηθὶc ὡμολόγηca

'In the consulship of our lords Galerius Valerius Maximinus and Flavius Valerius Constantinus, Augusti, (both) for the third time. Aurelius Domnus, son of Dionysius, resident in Hermopolis Magna, in the Camp, eastern district, to Aurelius Apollonius, son of Sarapion, from the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, greetings. I declare that I have sold to you in the Oxyrhynchite nome a male full-grown dappled Cappadocian horse, having the right foot (leg?) branded by caustic with a sigma, at the price for the same horse of 30 talents of silver, which I received on the spot from you in full from hand to hand, concerning which payment I have been asked the formal question by you and have given my assent, and I shall guarantee the horse for you by every warranty, and shall necessarily oppose anyone who takes action or makes a claim concerning it or a part of it immediately at my own expense, as if in virtue of a legal decision. The deed of sale, written in a single copy, is valid and I have been asked the formal question by you and have given my assent.'

'In the aforesaid consulship, Epeiph 29.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Domnus, have sold the aforesaid horse and I received the 30 talents of silver of the price and I shall guarantee as is aforesaid and in answer to the formal question I have given my assent.'

1–2 The date formula is of some interest because it is so far the latest one to make use of the name of Maximinus Daia. The day is 23 July A.D. 313, cf. 17. Daia was defeated by Licinius in Thrace on 30 April, retreated into Asia Minor and died of an illness in Tarsus on an unknown date, see *RE* iv 1990. He had been replaced by Licinius in the Egyptian dating formula by 13 September, see P. Cair. Isid. 103. 20. Allowing reasonable time at both ends for the spread of news and change of official policies he can be estimated to have died some time in July or August.

3 *κ̣αταμενι* (*sic*), see app. crit. The use of this term indicates that Domnus does not come from Hermopolis, but is simply resident there, cf. H. Braunert, *Binnenwanderung*, 119.

4 *ἐν τῇ παρενπολῇ* (l. *παρεμβολῇ*) *χωρίου ἀπηλιωτικοῦ*. This exprcssion looks like a periphrasis for *Φρουρίου Ἀπηλιώτου*, one of the four known amphoda, or quarters, of Hermopolis, see G. Méautis, *Hermoupolis-la-grande*, 46. For the spelling *παρενπολῇ*, cf. *TAPA* 101 (1970) 192, especially the reference to SB I 5273. 16, 17, *ἐνπολῆς* for *ἐμβολῆς*.

7 *Καμπάδοκα* (l. *Καππ-*). The same peculiarity of spelling occurs in the Laurentian manuscript of the *Et. Parv.*, see R. Pintaudi, *Etymologicum Parvum*, p. 80, *app. crit.* 264. On the fame of Cappadocian horses see PSI VI 729. 1 n.

8 *τὸν δεξιὸν πόδα*. This seems to define the location of the brand inadequately. Perhaps it was not necessary to say whether the leg was a front or a back one because there was a conventional place for a leg brand—the haunch, for example; *πούς* can mean 'leg' as well as 'foot', see LSJ s.v. I.

c. In BGU II 469 two brands are described by the spellings *cγμμα* (5, see BL i 47 = *Archiv* 5 (1909–13) 196) and *cχμα* (7). Schubart suggested that these were mis-spellings of *cῖγμα*, see *Archiv* ibid. Compare also XLI **2998** 9, where *sigma* forms part of the first brand.

ψυτ̣ρακαυτηρας. Cf. BGU II 469. 7 *καὶ ἐν τῷ cτήθι καυτή[ρ]ιον*; *καυτήριον* presumably means a brand done with a hot iron, while our word, new in the papyri, means that the mark was made with a caustic chemical. LSJ defines *ψυχροκαυτήρ* as 'a caustic' from only two rather uninformative passages in the medical writer Paul of Aegina, 6. 58, 87 (*CMG* ix. 2, pp. 97, 129). Both concern the treatment of warts: 58 . . . *ἄλλοι ψυχροκαυτῆρι τούτους* (i.e. *θύμους* = warts or similar excrescences) *ἀποκαίουcιν*. 87 *οἶδα δέ, ὅτι καὶ ταύτας καὶ τὰc εἰρημένας πάcας ὑπεροχὰc πολλοὶ τῷ λεγομένῳ ψυχροκαυτῆρι ἐδαπάνηcαν*. On brands in general see P. Bas. 2 introd. pp. 14–15.

The grammar cannot be saved without redrafting. Possibly the writer intended *ἔχοντα τὸν . . . πόδα τῷ c ⟨κεχαραγμένον⟩ ψυχροκαυτῆρι* (or *-ῆρcι*), or *ἔχοντα ⟨εἰc⟩ τὸν . . . πόδα τὸ c ⟨κεχαραγμένον⟩ ψυχροκαυτῆρι* (or *-ῆρcι*).

The spelling is also doubtful. The third letter is damaged. Just possibly he did in fact write an ill-formed *χ*; *γ* for *χ* would be a possible phonetic error, cf. Mayser–Schmoll, 145, but it cannot be read, because the left tip of what is apparently the crossbar of *τ* comes well back to the left of the upright. The second vowel is written *α* instead of *ο*, see Mayser–Schmoll, 70–71. The ending is apparently accusative plural, which is hard to understand.

9 The price of 30 talents seems, so far as a judgement is possible at all on the few items of evidence, relatively low. In a similar transaction of about A.D. 313/14, mentioned in P. Cair. Isid. 72. 10, 37; 73. 7, the price of the horse is 70 talents. Another price from P. Abinn. 80 (= SB VIII 9698) verso 14, is 70+ talents, though in the same list a foal apparently cost 350 talents—at least, the text has (*ταλ.*) *τν*, while the translation has '150 talents'. This document comes from the archive of the long-lived Sakaon, see P. Théad. Introd. 25–34, 43–45, but it probably belongs roughly between A.D. 300 and 345. In P. Théad. 4, ascribed to A.D. 307, a mare is sold apparently for 130 talents. This figure has been challenged as wrongly read, see A. Segrè, *Circolazione*, 131, but it is hard to think of anything better than *[ἑ]κ̣[α]τόν* between *ταλάντων* and *τριάκοντα* (7–8). The high price is partly to be explained by the fact that the horse is for military, not civilian, use, see BGU XI 2049 introd., and partly by the fact that the consulship—*μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Κωνcταντίου καὶ Μαξίμου τῶν λαμπροτάτων ἐπάρχων*—clearly dates the document, not to A.D. 307, but to A.D. 328. The passage of twenty ycars in this period of inflation makes a significant financial difference.

14 *ἐπάνακεc* = *ἐπάναγκεc*. For omission of the nasal cf. Mayscr–Schmoll, 164.

15 *ζαπάναιc* = *δαπάναιc*. For *ζ* in place of *δ* cf. *TAPA* 101 (1970) 190.

3145. Sale of a Donkey

35 4B.71/B(4–5)b 10 × 18 cm. Early fourth century

The foot of this document is lost and with it the date, but the buyer's name and the price of the donkey combine to place it somewhere in the first two decades of the fourth century, see 4, 11 nn. The back is blank.

On donkey sales in general sec **3143** introd.

→ *Αὐρήλιος Ὀννῶφρις Ἀχιλλέως*
ἀπὸ κώμης Σενειλάεως τοῦ με-
γάλου Ἑρμοπολείτου νομοῦ Αὐρηλίῳ
Ἀπολλωνίῳ Σαραπίωνι ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς)
καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὀξυρυγχ(ιτῶν) πό[λ]εως χαίρ(ειν).
ὁμολογῶ πεπρα[κέν]αι σοι ἐπ' ἀγο-
ρᾶς τ̣οῦ {του} [Ὀ]ξ̣υρυγχ[ίτο]υ̣ ὄ̣νον ἄρρενον
μοιόχρωμον τέλιον τιμῆς τῆς
συνπεφωνημένης πρὸς ἀλλή-
λους ἀργυρίου Σεβαστῶν νομίσμα-
τος τάλαντα δεκαδύο γί(νονται) (ταλ.) ιβ'
ἅπερ αὐτότι ἀπέσχον παρὰ σοῦ ἐκ
πλήρους διὰ χειρὸς περὶ ἧς ἀριθμή-
σεως ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα.
τὸν δ' αὐτὸν ὄ[νον ἐντε]ῦ̣θ̣[εν πα-
ρείληφας παρ' [ἐμοῦ τοῦτον τοι-
οῦτον ἀναπ[ό]ρ̣[ριφον καὶ ἀνεπίλημ-
πτον, ὃν κ̣[αὶ βεβα]ι̣ώ̣[σω σοι
πάσῃ βαιβε̣ώ̣[σει κ]αὶ τὸν [ἐπελευ-
σόμενόν σοι ἢ ἐνποιησόμενον
τούτου χάριν ἢ μέρους αὐτ̣[οῦ] ἐπά-
ναγκες ἀπο̣[στ]ή̣[σ]ω π̣α̣[ρα]χ̣[ρ]ῆ̣[μα
ταῖς ἐμαυτ̣[οῦ δαπάναις καθάπερ
ἐ[κ] δ[ίκης

. . . . .

4 l. *Σαραπίωνος*; *λαμϛ* 5 *λαμϛ οξυρυγχϛ, χαιρϛ* 8 l. *μυόχρωμον τέλειον* 11 *γ'ⲓ ιβ'* 12 l. *αὐτόθι* 19 l. *βεβαιώσει*

'Aurelius Onnophris son of Achilles, from the village of Senilais of the great Hermopolite nome, to Aurelius Apollonius son of Sarapion, from the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites,

greetings. I agree that I have sold to you in the market-place of the Oxyrhynchite nome a full-grown mouse-coloured, male donkey, at the price agreed between us of twelve talents of silver of the coinage of the Augusti, total 12 tal., which I have received from you on the spot in full from hand to hand, concerning which payment in answer to the formal question I gave my assent, and you have taken delivery of the same donkey from me on the spot, just as it is, unreturnable and free from encumbrances, which I shall also guarantee for you with every warranty and I shall necessarily oppose anyone who takes action against you or makes a claim concerning it or a part of it immediately at my own expense, as if in virtue of a legal decision . . .'

2 *Cενειλάεωc*. See *WB* iii p. 326, s.v. *Cενιλâιc*; not in *WB* Suppl. The *ν* is certain but the village may be the same as *Cελιλâιc*, see *WB* iii ibid. s.v., as is suggested by the variation in P. Cair. Preis. 30 between *Cενaclâιc* (lines 18, 33, 51, 64, 77, 87, 107, 130) and *Cελaclâιc* (115, 140). The repetitive context strongly implies that these last two are the same, and all four might possibly be identical. Selilais was in the Upper Patemites toparchy, see *Studi Calderini-Paribeni* ii 389–90.

4 *Caραπίωνι*. For the correction to *Caραπίωνοc* see **3143** 4, **3144** 5, and P. Corn. 13. 5.

6–7 *ἐπ' ἀγορâc τοῦ . . . ['O]ξυρυγχ[ίτο]υ*; cf. 2–3. It is worth recalling Montevecchi's observation, in *Aegyptus* 19 (1939) 39–40, that in the great majority of surviving sales of this type at least one of the parties is transacting business away from his normal place of residence; cf. P. Wisc. I p. 61. All four of Aurelius Apollonius' contracts belong to this majority.

7 *ἄρρενον*. Cf. *CÉ* 33 (1958) 271, 12 n., 'Both *ἄρρενοc* and *ἄρcενοc*, metaplastic formations from *ἄρρην* and *ἄρcην*, are attested in the papyri. See Preisigke–Kiessling, *Wörterbuch*, vols. i and iv s.vv.'

11 The price of 12 talents seems to be of little use for narrowing the possible range of dates. The certain dates for Aurelius Apollonius are A.D. 305 (**3143**) and A.D. 313 (**3144**). P. Corn. 13 is probably of A.D. 311, see *ZPE* 6 (1970) 181–2. At 12 tal. the animal was expensive, see the table ibid. p. 181, and **3143** 13 n., but it was also at the height of its strength, *τέλειον* (8), while the other male donkeys in the table from the period A.D. 305–11 were younger, viz.

3143	A.D. 305	*δευτεροβόλοc* (3–3½ yrs.)	15 tal.
P. Berl. Leihg. 21	A.D. 309	*ἄβολοc* (up to 1½ yrs.)	6 tal. 3,500 dr.
XIV **1708**	A.D. 311	*δευτεροβόλοc*	10 tal. 4,000 dr.
SB V 9214	A.D. 311	*ἄβολοc*	6 tal. 3,000 dr.

There were special factors affecting the price of the first donkey, see **3143** 13 n. If we take account of the present animal's maturity, the price seems suitable to a date not too far from A.D. 310. A few years later, about A.D. 313/14, much higher prices, 20 to 27 tal., are recorded for sales of two female donkeys, see P. Cair. Isid. 72. 19–26; 73. 9–11.

17–18 For the supplement *ἀνεπίλημπτον* cf. SB VI 9214. 22–3. It seems probable that the same word is to be read in a similar context in PSI I 38. 16, *ἀν . . . [. .]πτον*, perhaps with the more correct spelling *ἀνεπί[λη]πτον*.

3146. Advance from Imperial Funds

40 5B.113/K(2–4)a 15×26 cm. 10 May A.D. 347

Although the sheet, blank on the back, has been put together from eight joining fragments, the text is complete except where a strip is lost from the lower right and where there is damage along the joins. It has been cancelled by a lattice pattern of penstrokes, showing that the advance acknowledged in it had been duly repaid. The technical term for this sort of cancellation in the papyri is *χιάζειν*, see most lately XLII **3057** 3 n.

An Alexandrian temporarily in Oxyrhynchus acknowledges that he has received an advance of 1,500 myriads of denarii from the imperial account (*δεcποτικὸc λόγοc*,

see 9 n.), issued by an officer with the unique title or description *ἀναφερόμενος τῇ δεσποτικῇ ἐξουσίᾳ*, see 6–7 n. The advance is to be repaid in Alexandria through an intermediary.

→ *ὑπατείας Οὐολκακίου Ῥουφίνου τοῦ λαμ(προτάτου) ἐπάρχου*
τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ Φλαουίου Εὐσεβίου τοῦ
λαμ(προτάτου) κόμιτος, Παχὼν ιε.
Αὐρήλιος Ϲώζων Μάρκου Ἀλεξανδρεὺς
5 *καταγινόμενος ἐν τῇ λαμ(πρᾷ) καὶ λαμ(προτάτῃ) Ὀξυρ(υγχιτῶν) πόλει*
Φλαουίῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀναφερομένῳ τῇ δεσποτι-
κῇ ἐξουσίᾳ χαίρειν. ὁμ[ο]λογῶ ἐσχηκέναι παρὰ
σοῦ κατ' ἐπιθήκην ἐπὶ τῆσδε τῆς Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν
πόλεως ἀπὸ τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ λόγου ἀργυρίου Ϲεβας-
10 *τῶν νομίσμ[α]τος δηναρίων μυριάδας χιλίας*
πεντακοσίας (γίνονται) (δηναρίων) (μυριάδες) Ἀφ″, ἅσπερ ἐπάναγκες
ἀποδώσω ϲοι δι[ὰ τοῦ ...]τέρου παιδ[ὸ]ϲ
Πολυχρονίου [ἐ]πὶ τῆς λαμ(προτάτης) Ἀλεξανδρίας ἐπὰν
εὐτυχῶς ἐκεῖσαι παραγένηται ἀνυπερ-
15 *θέτως καὶ ἀναντιρῄτως, ἅμα δὲ τῇ το[ῦ] ἀργυρίου*
συμπληρώσι του .[.]..τω.π....[...].σις
ὡς ἐστάθη, γινομέν[ης] ϲοι τῆς [πράξεως ἔκ
τ[ε] ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑ[π]αρχόν[των μοι πάντων.
κύρια τὰ τῆς ἐπιθήκης γράμμ[ατα .....
20 *καὶ ἐπερωτηθ(εὶς) ὡμολόγησα. [.....*
(m. 2) *Αὐρήλιος Ϲώζων ἔσχον κατὰ [.....*
τὰ⟨ϲ⟩ τοῦ ἀργυρίου δηναρίων μυριά[δας χιλίας
πεντακοσία⟨ϲ⟩ καὶ ἀποδώσω ἐπὶ τ[ῆς λαμ(προτάτης) Ἀλεξαν-
δ[ρί]ας ὡς πρόκιται. Αὐρήλ[ι]ος Ϲερῆν[ος .....
25 *ἔ[γρα]ψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα μὴ εἰδ[ότος. .....*
(m. 1) [.....](vac.) *δι' ἐμο[ῦ ...]γένους ἐγ[ράφη.*

1 λαμ″ 2 ϊερου 3 λαμ″ 5 λαμ″, λαμ″ οξυρ 11 ⁄ϰ∩ Ἀφ″ 13 λαμ″
14 l. ἐκεῖϲε 15 l. ἀναντιρρήτως 20 επερωτη$^{\theta}$

'In the consulship of Vulcacius Rufinus, *vir clarissimus*, prefect of the sacred *praetorium*, and Flavius Eusebius, *vir clarissimus*, *comes*, Pachon 15.'

'Aurelius Sozon, son of Marcus (?), Alexandrian temporarily resident in the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, to Flavius Alexander, serving under the imperial command, greetings. I agree that I have received from you upon letter of credit in this city of the Oxyrhynchites from the imperial account fifteen hundred myriads of denarii of silver of the coinage of the Augusti, total

1,500 myr. den., which I shall necessarily return to you through our (?) boy Polychronius in Alexandria, the most glorious, whenever—with fortune's favour—he arrives there, without postponement and without contradiction, and upon the full repayment of the money (you will give this document back to him?) as has been agreed; the right of execution remaining with you upon me and all my property. The letters of credit, written in one copy (?), are valid, and in answer to the formal question I have given my assent.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Sozon, have received upon letter of credit the 1,500 myriads of denarii of silver and I shall return them in Alexandria, the most glorious, as is aforesaid. I, Aurelius Serenus, . . ., wrote on his behalf because he does not know letters.'

(1st hand) '(The contract) was written through me, . . . genes.'

6–7 *ἀναφερομένῳ τῇ δεσποτικῇ ἐξουσίᾳ*. This unique title has nothing to do with *dominica potestas*, a phrase used sometimes, but not by ancient jurists, to denote the master's rights over his slave, cf. A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law*, s.vv. *dominicus*, *potestas*. Rather it alludes to the imperial power, perhaps specifically to the *res privata*, see below on *δεσποτικὸς λόγος*, 9 n. The word *ἀναφερόμενος* is commonly used of soldiers and is followed by the name of their station or commander, see **3143** 7 n. 'Serving under the imperial command' might be a reasonable paraphrase, but it is uncertain whether Alexander is, in fact, a soldier or, as might seem more likely from the part he plays here, an official of the *res privata*.

It is possible that *ἀναφερόμενος* is a translation of *deputatus*, cf. *CGL* II 44. 6, *deputatur αναφερεται· κατατετακται*, though the next entry has only *deputatus κατεταχθεις* (*sic*)· *απονεμηθεις*. On the *deputati*, who were members of the *domestici* seconded to special duties away from court, see R. I. Frank, *Scholae Palatinae*, 91–2.

8 *ἐπιθήκην*. The clearest illustration of the meaning of this word remains BGU IV 1064, discussed with an improved text in F. Preisigke, *Girowesen*, 204–5. This is an order to a banker to pay out to a citizen of Oxyrhynchus a sum equal to that received by the writer in the Hermopolite nome from the payee. The document describes itself as an *ἐπιθήκη*—*τὴν δὲ ἐπιθήκην ταύτην μοναχήν σοι ἐξεδόμην* (11–12). An *ἐπιθήκη*, therefore, is a letter of credit. In this case Sozon has received locally an advance for his expenses on a visit to Oxyrhynchus for which this document is the receipt. One would naturally suppose that *κατ' ἐπιθήκην* means that he got the money by presenting a letter of credit, but this document itself is apparently an *ἐπιθήκη*, see 19, presumably because it authorizes the repayment of the sum in Alexandria, though he may also have written an order instructing his banker or administrator in Alexandria to pay an equal sum to Flavius Alexander's credit there. It is, therefore, possible that *κατ' ἐπιθήκην* means 'in return for a letter of credit'. A good deal remains to be discovered about the application of the term.

9 *δεσποτικοῦ λόγου*. See XX **2267** 5; there an *ἐπίτροπος τῶν δεσποτικῶν κτήσεων* declares that he has done his duty by the *δεσποτικὸς λόγος*; see **2267** introd. and 2–3 n., for the little we know about the *res privata* at this period. Cf. P. Mert. I 45. 3 n., on *δεσποτικαὶ πρόσοδοι*.

10 *δηναρίων μυριάδας*. See L. C. West and A. C. Johnson, *Currency*, 125. (There is no reference to myriads in PSI IV 302, see **3142** 12 n.) The sum is not so enormous as it sounds; cf. IX **1223** (late fourth century) where one gold solidus is equal to 2,020 myriads.

12 Either *ἡμε]τέρου* or *ὑμε]τέρου* would be a possibility, see 16 n. Other words are also possible, e.g. *νεω]τέρου*. It may be that *παῖς* here means 'slave' rather than 'son'.

13 The name Polychronius is rare in the papyri. *NB* refers only to P. Amh. II 148. 3 (A.D. 487) and P. Gen. 55 (= P. Abinn. 30). 8, 12. P. Gen. 55, since it belongs to the Abinnaeus archive, must be approximately contemporary with this document. The Polychronius there is making a journey with camels loaded with wine from Alexandria to Dionysias. Abinnaeus is to send cash to the writer of the letter in Alexandria and possibly the money is to be carried back there by Polychronius. There is a possibility, though it must not be exaggerated, that the itinerant Polychronius is the same as the one in this document.

16 The remains are very scanty but are probably consistent with *τοῦτ[ο] αὐτῷ ἀποκατ[αστ]ήσις* (read *-ήσεις*), 'and upon the full repayment of the money you will give this (document) back to him', i.e. for cancellation. On the importance attached to the cancellation of the document see R. Taubenschlag, *Law*^{2}, 419–20. If right, this implies that Polychronius was the confidential agent of Sozon, and we should perhaps restore *ἡμε]τέρου* in 12.

19 Supply probably ἁπλᾶ (cf. BGU IV 1064. 12 *μοναχήν*), or διccά etc., *γραφέντα*; the last word may have been abbreviated, e.g. *γραφ'*.

20 The end of *ὡμολόγηca* has a long finial and the rest of the line was probably blank.

21 Either *κατὰ [ἐπιθήκην* or *κατὰ [τὴν ἐ.* will do.

24 Supply probably a patronymic for Serenus.

25 Probably *εἰδ[ότος* was the last word, followed by a blank.

26 Very probably the beginning of this line was blank and the whole subscription ran *δι' ἐμοῦ* (e.g. *Διο-, Θεα-)γένους ἐχ[ράφη*.

3147. Letter of Theodorus

40 5B.95/H(1–3)a 8 × 28 cm. Fourth/fifth century

The top of this letter is missing and the address on the back gave only the sender's name. The writing is of a type found already by about the middle of the fourth century, see W. Schubart, *Gr. Paläographie*, Abb. 56, 57; the first of these appears also in R. Seider, *Paläographie d. gr. Papyri*, Vol. i, pl. 31. This present example comes perhaps from the end of the century or at the latest from the beginning of the fifth century.

Theodorus, an overseer of taxes or government requisitions (*ἐπιμελητής*), wrote to his brother or friend in Oxyrhynchus mainly about some complicated transaction in which they required the help of other officials. The recipient was to give presents to an *officialis* and accompany him on visits to another important personage, Dionyttas, who was to give instructions, and to the resident military policemen, the *stationarii*, who were in turn to issue more instructions.

The next sentenee (16–20) seems to introduce a new topic; the recipient is told to protect himself from possible trouble arising out of his term of office in the previous year as a hypodectes, that is a receiver of taxes. But this may be part of the central theme, for the next sentence (21–3) tells him to accompany the *officialis* to Sebastianus, presumably a still higher official, if the necessity should arise.

. . . . .
→ [.....]ου Ὡρίων
θ.[...]. παρασχεῖν
τῇ πρώτῃ τέως
ἡμέρᾳ Ἡρακλείδῃ
5 τῷ ὀφικιαλίῳ οἴνου
διπλᾶ δύο καὶ μυρ(ιάδας) ξ.
καὶ πάλιν ἐὰν ᾖς ἐκεῖ
πρό⟨c⟩σχες αὐτῷ. ἐλπίζω
γὰρ ὅτι ποιεῖ τὸ πρᾶ-

6 *μυρ*

γμα ἡμῶν. καὶ ἄ̣ν̣ελ-
θε μετ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν
δεσπότη⟨ν⟩ μου Διονυττᾶν,
ἕως ἐπιστίλῃ, καὶ τοὺς
κυρίους μου τοὺς ⟨c⟩τατιωναρί-
ους ὁμοίως ἵνα ἐπιστέλ-
λουσιν. καὶ ὡς ἄνθρωπος
φρόντισον σεαυτῷ περὶ
τῆς ὑποδοχῆς σου περὶ
τῆς ὀμβρύσεως τῆς περυ-
σινῆς. καὶ μὴ ἀμελήσῃς.
ἐὰν ᾖ ἀνάγκη, ἄ̣ν̣ελθε
μετ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Σεβαστια-
νόν. καὶ φρόντισον περὶ
πάντων. ἐρρῶσθαί
σε εὔχομαι πολλοῖς χρό-
νοις, κύριε ἀ̣δ̣ελφε.

Back → [π(αρὰ)?] Θεοδώρου υἱοῦ Ὡρίωνος ἐπιμελ(ητοῦ) ἐν Κυνῷ ἐπιμελ(ητοῦ?)

12 διονυτ'ταν 13 l. ἐπιστείλῃ 15–16 l. ἐπιστέλλωσιν 17 l. σεαυτοῦ 27 επιμελ', επιμελ'

'[My father?] Horion [wants you?] to provide on the first possible day for Heracleides, the *officialis*, two double measures of wine and 600,000 drachmas. If you are there again be attentive to him, for I hope that he will get our business done. Go up (or 'go off') with him to my master Dionyttas until he gives instructions, and to my lords the *stationarii*, so that they likewise may issue instructions. As far as humanly possible look after yourself as regards your term of office as receiver in relation to last year's charges for the assay of gold. Don't be remiss. If the necessity arises, go up (or 'go off') with him to Sebastianus. Look after everything. I pray for your health for many years, my lord brother.'

'From Theodorus, son of Horion, epimeletes, in Cynopolis (?), epimeletes (?).'

1 Perhaps restore [ὁ πατήρ μ]ου Ὡρίων; cf. 27.

2 Perhaps restore θέ̣[λει c]ε̣.

3 τέως = *certe, quidem*, see D. Tabachovitz, *Études sur le grec de la basse époque*, pp. 70–3.

10 ἄ̣ν̣ελθε. The second letter is undamaged but in this hand may equally well be read as *pi*. The context supplies no ground for a choice between ἄνελθε and ἄπελθε. The same problem arises in 21.

12 Διονυττᾶν. Presumably the same name as Διονυτᾶς, cf. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, 97.

14 στατιωναρίους. Cf. *Rev. phil.*[3] 17 (1943) 113, *Aegyptus* 37 (1957) 101–2; for references ibid. 40 (1960) 28.

15–16 ἐπιστέλλουσιν. Read -ωσιν. For rare confusions of ω and ου see Mayser i pp. 99–100, Mayser–Schmoll, 76–7. Probably this is a mere error.

18 ὑποδοχῆς. This word is best taken as the name of the office of hypodectes, cf. *WB* iii Abschn. 8 s.v., even though all the references given there are from the sixth century.

19 ὀμβρύσεως. This word is not yet to be found in the dictionaries, but see SB X 10568 = P. Berol. Inv. 13943, published in *Eos* 56 (1966) 351. That document is a receipt for 240 *solidi* μετὰ τῆς ὀμβρύσεως καὶ τοῦ ἀναλώματος (5), which indicates that ὄμβρυσις is to be connected with ὄβρυζα, cf.

similar spellings in P. Flor. I 95. 11, P. Cair. Masp. II 67126. 13, 17, 37, and regarded as an additional charge laid upon the payer of a tax in gold to cover the cost of assaying the metal, see Johnson and West, *Byz. Egypt, Econ. Stud.* 289–90.

This terminology suggests that the recipient had been a *ὑποδέκτης χρυσοῦ* or *χ. τιρώνων* or *χ. βουρδώνων* in the previous year, cf. *WB* iii Abschn. 8 s.v. *ὑποδέκτης*.

22 *Σεβαστιανόν*. Probably he was an official higher than those previously mentioned. There was a *praef. Aeg.* of this name in A.D. 353–4 (*PLRE* i 811), and a *dux* in A.D. 356–8 (ibid. 812–13), who should be borne in mind, but there is no particular indication that either is meant here.

27 *Κυνῷ*. This has been taken tentatively as a form of the name of Cynopolis, see IV **739** 2 n., H. Gauthier, *Les Nomes d'Égypte*, Pl. I no. 12, Pl. II no. 13 (*Κυνῶ, Κοινῶ*). In that case the second *επιμελ'* seems superfluous. Perhaps we should understand *ἐπιμελ(ητοῦ) ἐν κυνῷ* (= *κοινῷ*, cf. e.g. XXXIX **2855** 1, **3137** 1) *ἐπιμελ(ητῶν)*, 'inspector in the association of inspectors'. This is attractive but not clear in meaning. We do not know if there could be an epimeletes who was not in the *κοινόν* of epimeletae, but it might be regarded as a typically Byzantine tautology.

3148. Order to supply Wine

40 5B.108/H(4–6)b 28·5 × 5·5 cm. 26 August A.D. 424

↓ *Θεόδουλος* (vac.) *Σαρμάτῃ βο(ηθῷ).*
παράσχου τοῖς ταβουλαρίοις ὑ(πὲρ) τῆς πανηγύρεως τοῦ Νείλου τοῦ Μεμφι-
τικοῦ οἴνου διπλᾶ δύο (γίνεται) οἴ(νου) δι(πλᾶ) β μόνα.
(ἔτους) ρ ξθ ἐπαγομένων γ.

1 βοζ̄ 2 υ', /οι-δ̣ 3 Lρξθ

'Theodulus to Sarmates, assistant. Deliver to the *tabularii*, for the feast of the Nile, two double jars of the Memphite wine; total: 2 double jars of wine only. Year 100 (and) 69, 3rd of the intercalary days.'

1 In VIII **1136** of A.D. 420 there is an assistant called Sarmates, who may be identical with this one. On *βοηθοί* and *ταβουλάριοι* see G. Rouillard, *L'Administration civile de l'Ég. byz.*,² 64.

2 *Μεμφιτικοῦ*. The word order at first suggests that this agrees with *Νείλου*, but no other instance has been found of a designation of the Nile specifically as the Nile of Memphis. However, there was an important Nilometer at Memphis, where the ideal level of the flood was measured (cf. e.g. Aelius Aristides 48. 20), and there are traces of a connection of Ptah, the chief god of Memphis, with the flood (D. Bonneau, *La Crue du Nil*, 232), so that it seems not impossible that we should take it this way. If so, we might guess that the festival of the Memphite Nile was celebrated when it was announced that the flood had reached a satisfactory level at the Nilometer at Memphis. This would perhaps suit the facts; that is, the effects of the average flood begin to be seen at Cairo/Memphis about the beginning of July and the maximum is reached about 5–11 September (Bonneau, op. cit. 23). A satisfactory level might therefore be reached about the date of our document, 26 August.

However, it seems better to take *τοῦ Μεμφιτικοῦ οἴνου* together as 'the (specific) Memphite wine', though it is hard to say why this should have been preferred to the normal pattern, *οἴνου Μεμφιτικοῦ διπλᾶ δύο*. There were vineyards in the Memphite nome, see M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 241, and cf. *ὄξους Μεμφιτικοῦ* in *ZPE* 6 (1970) 28.

3 For the Oxyrhynchite eras see *P. Oxy.* XIV, pp. 27–31. The date of 26 August has not been attested previously for a Nile festival, see D. Bonneau, op. cit. 373–5, nor need the celebration referred to here have taken place on this actual day.

3149. A Christian Letter of Recommendation

4° 5B.111/J(1–3)a 7×14·5 cm. Fifth century?

After an unfamiliar beginning—*ἐγὼ γράφω coι*—Heras, who unexpectedly calls himself 'Christian', recommends a certain Heortasius to the generosity of Apa Theon, probably a monk, appealing to custom and to the charity which obtains divine recompense. Our text thus joins an already large number of letters of recommendation, many of which are drafted in a stereotyped formula, see K. Treu, 'Christliche Empfehlungs-Schemabriefe', in *Zetesis* (*Bijdragen . . . aangeboden aan Dr. E. de Strijcker*) 629–36, and which testify to a widespread practice of hospitality in the ancient Christian communities, cf. A. Harnack, *Die Mission*[4] i 203, A.-J. Festugière, *Les Moines d'Orient*, 33 n. 71.

In the drafting, besides the anomalies already noted, we find an element which looks forward to Modern Greek (13). Another element of novelty appears, in so far as we can succeed in understanding it, in the last line, where the uncertain reading cannot be identified with any of the usual closing formulas.

The writing, by an unpractised hand, is done in capitals of a book type, large and drawn predominantly with thick strokes by means of a pen with a very flexible point. It belongs perhaps in the fifth century. Dr. G. Cavallo, who was kind enough to give us his advice, would put it 'only a little later than the middle of the fifth century'. As parallels he cites XIII **1602**, illustrated in M. Wittek, *APG* No. 14, W. Schubart, *Gr. Pal.*, Abb. 98, G. Cavallo, *RMB*, Tav. 108. The *nomina sacra* are abbreviated. The writer sometimes breaks the rules for dividing words between lines by syllables.

On the back there are illegible remains of ink, probably of an address, and other scattered traces that may be offsets.

→ † ἐγὼ γράφ-
ω coι, ἄ̣π̣α Θέ-
ων, Ἡρᾶc χρ-
η⟨c⟩τιανὸc ἐ̣ν̣
κυ(ρίῳ) θ(ε)ῷ̣ χέρειν.
ἔπενψα π̣ρ̣[ὸ]ς̣
ς̣ὲ̣ τὸν cὸ̣ν δοῦ-
λο̣ν Ἑορτάcιον·
κα̣τ̣[ὰ] τ̣ὴ̣ν̣ ς̣υ̣ν̣-
νήθιαν χάρι-
cον αὐ̣τ̣ῷ̣ εἴ τι

5 $\overline{\text{κυθω}}$; l. χαίρειν 6 l. ἔπεμψα 9–10 l. cυνήθειαν

ἂν ἔχεις. ταῦτ-
α εὑβρίσκις
παρὰ τοῦ κ̣υ̣(ρίου)..
15 $\overline{\epsilon.\epsilon}$ $\overline{\chi\rho}$.

13 l. εὑρίσκεις 14 κ̣υ̣

'I write to you, Apa Theon, I Heras, Christian, greetings in the Lord God. I send to you your slave Heortasius. According to the custom grant him anything that you have. This you will find from (before?) the Lord . . .'

1–2 *ἐγὼ γράφω σοι.* This is a new expression for the opening of a letter; it finds a parallel in declarations of an administrative character of the late Byzantine period, cf. P. kl. Form. (SPP III) 132. 1–2, 133. 1.

2 *ἅπα.* Used of Christian priests from about the middle of the fourth century, e.g. P. Abinn. nos. 6, 7, 8.

3–4 *χρ⁴ηтιανός.* The spelling aimed at is *Χρηστιανός*, see e.g. Blass–Debrunner, *NT Gramm.* § 24. For the loss of the *sigma* see Mayser, i 205. The spelling *Χρησιανός* appears in XLII 3035 and probably also in PSI XIV 1412. 10 *Χρησια*[*νοῦ*], see XXXVI 2785 2 n.

It is hard to see why he describes himself in this way. It seems rather weak as an appeal for special consideration. Probably the word has here a technical sense, perhaps meaning 'baptized', cf. Theodoret, *Is.* 62 2 (Migne, *PG* lxxxi 473c) *Χρηστιανοὶ γὰρ παρὰ πάντων καλοῦνται, ἅτε διὰ τοῦ παναγίου βαπτίσματος τὸν Χριστὸν ἐνδυσάμενοι*, or perhaps in a still more restricted sense, a neophyte before the catechumenate, cf. *Conc. Const. I* can. 7 *Ἕλληνας δεχόμεθα· καὶ τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν ποιοῦμεν αὐτοὺς χριστιανούς, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν κατηχουμένους.*

6 *ἔπενψα.* Cf. Mayser, i 235; Moulton–Howard, *Grammar of NT Greek* ii 105.

7–8 *τὸν σὸν δοῦλον.* From the second half of the fourth century *δοῦλος* is used to express submission and devotion to the person addressed, see A. Dihle, 'Antike Höflichkeit und christliche Demut', *Stud. Ital.* 26 (1952) 177, cf. J. Svennung, *Anredeformeln*, 26–7.

9–10 *κατ*[*ὰ*] *τὴν ς̣υ̣ν/νήθιαν.* For the gemination of consonants see Mayser, i 216–19. For the concept in similar contexts see PSI III 208, SB III 7269.

10 *χάριсον.* For the rare active form cf. e.g. PGM 2 viii 17.

12 For *ἄν*+indic. cf. Moulton–Turner, *Grammar of NT Greek*, iii 92–3, but it is more likely that *ἔχεις* is here the phonetic equivalent of *ἔχῃς*.

12–14 Cf. NT Matt. 6. 4; 25. 34–40.

13 *εὑβρίσκεις* is a stage on the way to Mod. Grk. *βρίσκω*, cf. A. Thumb, *Die gr. Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*², Glossar.; id. *Handbook of the Mod. Grk. Lang.* (trans. S. Angus), 5; Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen*, 10–11.

14 *παρὰ τοῦ κ̣υ̣(ρίου).* After *εὑρίσκειν* we might expect the dative as in Luke 1. 31 *εὗρες γὰρ χάριν παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ* but see also 2 Tim. 1. 18 *δῴη αὐτῷ ὁ Κύριος εὑρεῖν ἔλεος παρὰ Κυρίου ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.*

14–15 At the end of 14 $\overline{\theta\upsilon}$ = *θ(εο)ῦ* cannot be excluded; in 15 read possibly $\overline{\epsilon\rho\epsilon}$ $\overline{\chi\rho\upsilon}$, i.e. *αἶρε Χρ(ιστό)ν*, understanding *αἴρειν* in the sense of 'exalt, praise', cf. Euseb. *Vit. Const.* 2. 29 *τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν ἀρθῆναι*, Joh. Chrysost., *Hom. in I Tim.* 4. 3 (Migne, *PG* lxii 623 seq.) *δοξάσωμεν δὴ τὸν θεόν· ἄρωμεν τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ἡμῶν*; 1 Cor. 6. 20 *δοξάσατε δὴ καὶ ἄρατε τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν* (*et portate*—or *tollite*—in Lat.; *ἄρα γε* before *δοξ.* Method.), where the use of *αἴρειν* appears in some way related to NT expressions such as that in Luke 23. 18 *αἶρε τοῦτον* (= *Χριστόν*), *ἀπόλυсον δὲ ἡμῖν τὸν Βαραββᾶν.* In this case, however, the abbreviation mark above *ερε* causes a difficulty, unless we should understand *αἴρ(ετ)ε*.

Another possible reading might be *ῳ* (at the end of 14) $\overline{\epsilon\iota\epsilon}$ $\overline{\chi\rho\varepsilon}$ = *ὦ Ἰε(сοῦ) Χρ(ιст)έ.* For the spelling *Ἰεсοῦс* for *Ἰηсοῦс* see VIII 1152 3–4, A. Paap, *Nomina Sacra*, 74–5, 93. But this reading too is not free from difficulty. At all events it is clear that something unusual stood here at the foot of the letter.

3150. Byzantine Letter

2 1B.105/F(b) 6×26·7 cm. Sixth century

The salient facts of this letter are that the sender had left a monastery and so caused distress to the recipient, who is addressed as though she were his mother. He reassures her and says that he left in order to persuade the authorities to stop bringing pressure on her. At the time of writing he was about to be brought to a *praetorium* into the presence of a *comes*. The letter closes with some instructions about personal possessions.

This summary disguises many elements of uncertainty caused by the allusive style natural to correspondents who are well aware of each other's circumstances, and by an imperfect command of grammar; see notes. Even the sex of the writer does not emerge clearly. It would be possible to interpret the document as the letter of a nun writing to the mother superior of the convent she has left, see 37 n.

The letter is complete, though without a prescript, as commonly at this period, or a farewell formula. The back is blank. The narrow sheet has been broken horizontally. The two pieces fit together very well, but the break has made part of line 8 illegible.

The good cursive handwriting, done in brown ink, appears to be of the sixth century, in the style represented by P. Lond. Atlas III nos. 82 (A.D. 507), 85 (A.D. 538), 89 (A.D. 558), and 91b (A.D. 583), though none of these is a specially good match.

We are very grateful to Dr. A. Alcock for the elucidation of the Coptic word in line 35 and for guidance through the literature on Christian Egypt.

→ πρὸ μὲν πάντων
πολλὰ προσαγορεύω
τὴν σὴν μητρικὴν
διάθεσιν καὶ τὴς
εὐλαβεστάταις μου
ἀδελφὰς Θεοτίμα.
καὶ Ταρίλλα. επεις.
..... ὅτι ὠλιγώ-
ρησας δι' ἐμὲ ὅτι
ἐξῆλθα ἐκ τοῦ
μοναστηρίου Ἄπα
Σαρους. ὠλιγώρη-
σα οὖν. πέμπουσίν
με εἰς τὸ πραιτώ-
ριν καθάπαξ
πρὸς τὸν κόμι-
τα καὶ καθ' ὥραν
γράφω ἐπιστο-
λὴν ἐν τάξει νο-
ταρίων. διὰ τοῦτο
ἀπέστη ἐκ τῶν
οἴκει, ἕως οὗ ἂν
συντάσσουσίν
με ὅτι οὐκέτι

4 l. τάς 5 l. εὐλαβεστάτας 6 l. Θεοτίμαν 7 l. Ταρίλλαν 14–15 l. πραιτώριον
21 l. ἀπέστην 23 l. συντάσσωσιν

ἀναγκάζουσίν
σε καὶ ἤνεγκ[ό]ν
με πάλιν εἰς
τὸν αὐτὸν τόπων.
μὴ οὖν ὀλιγω-
ρήσατε δι' ἐμὲ
ὅλως, ἀλλὰ
μνημονεύσατέ
με ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ
ἡμῶν. δὸς οὖν
τὸ μοζίκιν μου
αὐτῷ. ποίησον
καὶ τὸ καταπέ-
τασμα καὶ τὴν
(vac.) στολήν μου.

28 l. τόπον 34 l. ὑμῶν 35 l. μοζίκιον; ο corr. e ζ

'Before all things I give many greetings to your maternal kindliness and to my most devout sisters, Theotima and Tarilla. . . . that you were troubled on my account because I left the monastery of Apa Sarous. So I was troubled (too). They are sending me to the *praetorium* once and for all to the *comes*, and at the moment I am writing this letter in the office of the notaries. It was for this reason that I went away from my own family, so that they should come to an agreement with me that they will no longer use compulsion on you; and they will (?) bring me back again to the same (holy?) place. So do not worry (any of you), on my account at all, but remember me in your prayers. So give my girdle to him. Make up both the curtain (?) and my robe.'

4 διάθεσιν. This abstract form of address is used from the fourth to the eighth century without any special social connotation, see H. Zilliacus, *Unters. z. d. abstrakten Anredeformen*, 88.

5 εὐλαβεστάταις (l. -τας). Often used in religious contexts, but by no means exclusively, H. Zilliacus, op. cit. 84; cf. *Stud. Pap.* 3 (1964) 85.

6 Θεοτίμα.. The damaged letter looks more like c than the necessary ν. Only Θεοτίμη is attested. The form in α is analogous with Διοτίμα, etc.

7 Ταρίλλα⟨ν⟩. Elsewhere only in XVI **1995** of A.D. 542, where there is an Αὐρηλία *T.*, but it is not particularly likely that they are identical.

7–8 The papyrus is broken into two pieces by a split running through line 8. The join allows the second half of the line to be read clearly with parts of the letters on each piece, but the first half is much damaged. The last letter of 7 looks most like ε. If ἐπεί is to be read, a corresponding main clause seems to be missing. Neither ἐπείσθην nor ἐπ(ε)ίσταμαι can be read.

ὠλιγώρησας. For the sense 'to be troubled', not in LSJ or *WB*, see now LSJ Suppl. (citing especially *Aegyptus* 33 (1953) 318, 14 n.), and Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. 2. Cf. P. Ross.-Georg. III 6. 18 n.

10 ἐξῆλθα. Cf. Blass–Debrunner, *Gramm. neutest. Gr.*[10] 54 (§ 81, 3).

11–12 The name Σαρους (indeclinable?) is unknown in Greek sources and this monastery is not in the list in *Aegyptus* 18 (1938) 66–148 or in *WB* Abschn. 21 s.v. ἄπα. It may be named after a martyr called Sarous, referred to in de L. O'Leary, *The Saints of Egypt*, 69, H. Delehaye, *Les Martyrs d'Égypte*, 97. The story of the martyrdom of himself and his three brothers in or near Latopolis during the Diocletianic persecution is given in a French translation from the Arabic in R. Basset, *Le Synaxaire arabe jacobite (rédaction copte)*, 456–7 (under 14 Kihak (10 Dec.), not 13 Kihak, as in Delehaye). According to that source the local Christians buried the brothers in their own house and after the persecution built a church on the spot, where miracles continued to be performed. This monastery may, therefore, have been in or near Latopolis, but no reliable conclusion can be drawn.

14–15 πραιτώριν. On -ιν = -ιον, see *Class. Phil.* 43 (1948) 243–60. On *praetoria* cf. XXXI **2581** ii 23 n., and R. Egger, *Das Praetorium als Amtsitz u. Quartier röm. Spitzenfunktionären* (Vienna, 1966).

16–17 The post of the *comes* is unidentifiable. The *praetorium*, which was a residence and place of work available to the governor in many nome-capitals, suggests that he was high-ranking. The governor of Arcadia in the sixth century may have been a *comes*, though the other Egyptian provinces were governed each by a *dux*, see M. Gelzer, *Byz. Verwaltung Ägyptens*, 29. This view was opposed by J.

Maspero, *Organisation militaire*, 73–6, cf. G. Rouillard, *L'Administration civile*, 33. The *praesides*, subordinates of the governor, could also hold the rank of *comes*, Rouillard, op. cit. 48 n. 5, and there seem to be many other possibilities, see the references in *Aegyptus* 40 (1960) 223–5. A *praeses* is perhaps the most likely.

17 *καθ' ὥραν*. This phrase means usually 'at the right moment', see LSJ s.v. *ὥρα* B 4, *WB* s.v., quoting BGU IV 1119. 20. Here it apparently means 'at this very moment'.

It is interesting that the letter is said to have been written in the office of the *notarii*. The hand, though not very careful, is practised enough to have been written by a professional scribe and probably was, but the expression and the grammar are surprisingly muddled. This may be, at least partly, because the letter was being taken down at the sender's dictation.

It looks very much as if the *notarii* are those which a *comes* would have on his staff, cf. P. Masp. I 58 vii 9 (p. 204) *νοταρίου τοῦ κόμιτος*. If so, it seems that they were not at work actually in the *praetorium*, which the sender had apparently not yet reached.

21 *ἀπέστη*. Read *ἀπέστην*. For loss of a final nasal, see Mayser–Schmoll, I i 169–71, esp. 170 § 3(b), and cf. *Ταρίλλα⟨ν⟩*, 7.

22 It is attested that the form *οἶκει* can be equivalent to *οἶκοι*, see Men. fr. 889 Körte (ii, p. 261). Another possibility is that the last syllable of *οἰκείων* has been omitted. The sense is roughly 'I left my family'. It seems possible that this refers to the same occasion as the departure from the monastery in 10–12.

22–6 This may be a use of *ἕως οὗ* in a final sense, for which see H. Ljungvik, *Zur Syntax d. spätgr. Volkssprache*, 43–6. The present *συντάσσουσιν* for the subjunctive is an error and one might expect *μοι* for *με*, cf. XVI **2154** 27. The subject of *συντάσσουσιν* and *ἀναγκάζουσιν* appears to be they, the authorities, and not they, the family, though the drafting is ambiguous.

26–8 In spite of the correct aorist form *ἤνεγκ[ο]ν* should possibly be taken as a future. See P. Mich. VIII 494. 11–12 n. for *ἐνεγκ-* as a future stem cf. **3127** 9. The word *τόπος* is possibly used in the technical sense of a holy place, see *WB* s.v. *τόπος* (f) and particularly (g), which relates to the graves of martyrs and associated churches and monasteries. This interpretation may not be correct, but note the following sentence, 'So don't worry' etc., and certainly 'they will bring me back again to the same holy place' seems a much more reassuring sentence than 'they brought me back again to the same place'.

35 *τὸ μοζίκιν*. After *μ* it looks as if a *ζ* was written first, then covered and corrected by a large *ο*. Then the second *ζ* was written in its proper place. No Greek or Latin word seems to suit. Very probably this is the Coptic ⲙⲟϫϩ (and variants, see W. E. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 213b), which means 'girdle', very often the girdle of a monk, cf. P. Ladeuze, *Cénobitisme pakhomien*, 276. The *κ*, which looks like part of a Greek diminutive ending, is an integral element of the word.

The point of the instruction is lost on us because we do not know who the unexplained *αὐτῷ* is.

37 *καταπέτασμα*. This is the word used in the NT for the veil of the Temple 'rent in twain' at the Crucifixion, Matt. 27. 51, Mark 15. 38, Luke 23. 45. In the Greek papyri it occurs otherwise once only, in a list of church property, P. Grenf. II 111. 7, where two of them are taken by the editor to be 'hangings of the altar canopy, or curtains in front of the sanctuary'. Here this one seems to be a personal possession, but there is no indication anywhere else that it might be an article of clothing, which at first glance its place here between 'girdle' and 'robe' might suggest, see Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, for a comprehensive series of references.

We must reject the tempting idea that it could be a nun's veil, indicating that the writer was a nun writing to her mother superior, because the nun's veil does not seem to have been a distinctive garment in early times. Nuns had their heads shorn and covered, see P. Ladeuze, *Cénobitisme pakhomien*, 278, quoting Jerome, *Ep.* 147 'moris est in Aegypti . . . monasteriis, ut tam virgo quam vidua quae se Deo voverint . . . crinem monasteriorum matribus offerant desecandum, non intecto postea . . . capite, sed ligato pariter et velato.' But this probably refers only to the cowl, worn by nuns as well as by monks, see Palladius, *Hist. Laus.* xxxiv 1 *αὕτη ῥάκος ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς δήσασα—αἱ γὰρ ἄλλαι πᾶσαί εἰσι κεκαρμέναι, ἔχουσαι κουκούλια*; *Bull. Soc. Arch. Copt.* 14 (1958) 76 '2,000 youths wearing the cowl, a thousand of them virginal monks and a thousand young virgins'. This is translated from an Arabic source. On the present-day veil of Coptic nuns, see ibid. 83.

It should be observed, since the text does not clearly reveal that the sender is a man, that there is no *a priori* reason for rejecting outright the possibility that it could be a woman. Convents of women

were quite usual. The *Historia Monachorum* even tells us that at one time there were 1,000 monks in Oxyrhynchus and 2,000 'virgins', which presumably means nuns (v 6; A.-J. Festugière (= Subsidia Hagiographica, no. 34), p. 43).

39 στολήν. Though in Latin a *stola* is essentially a woman's garment, this is not true of the Greek word, cf. e.g. P. Giss. 20. 16–18, where a man is asked whether he wants work to be begun on the weaving of his στολή.

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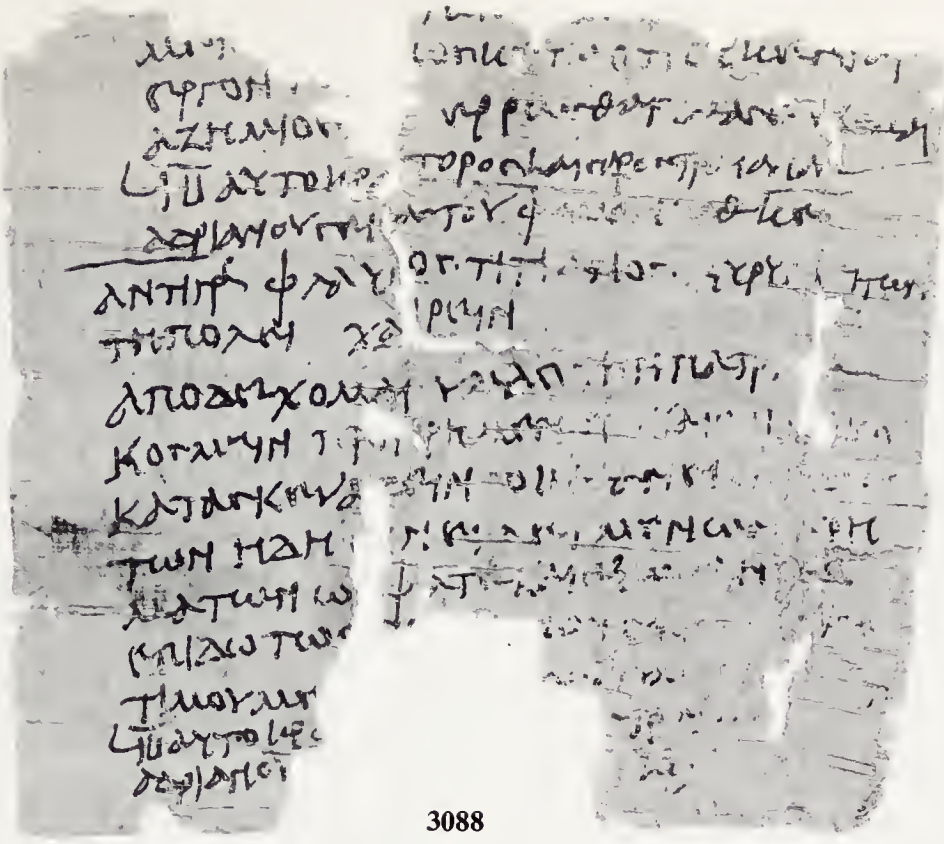

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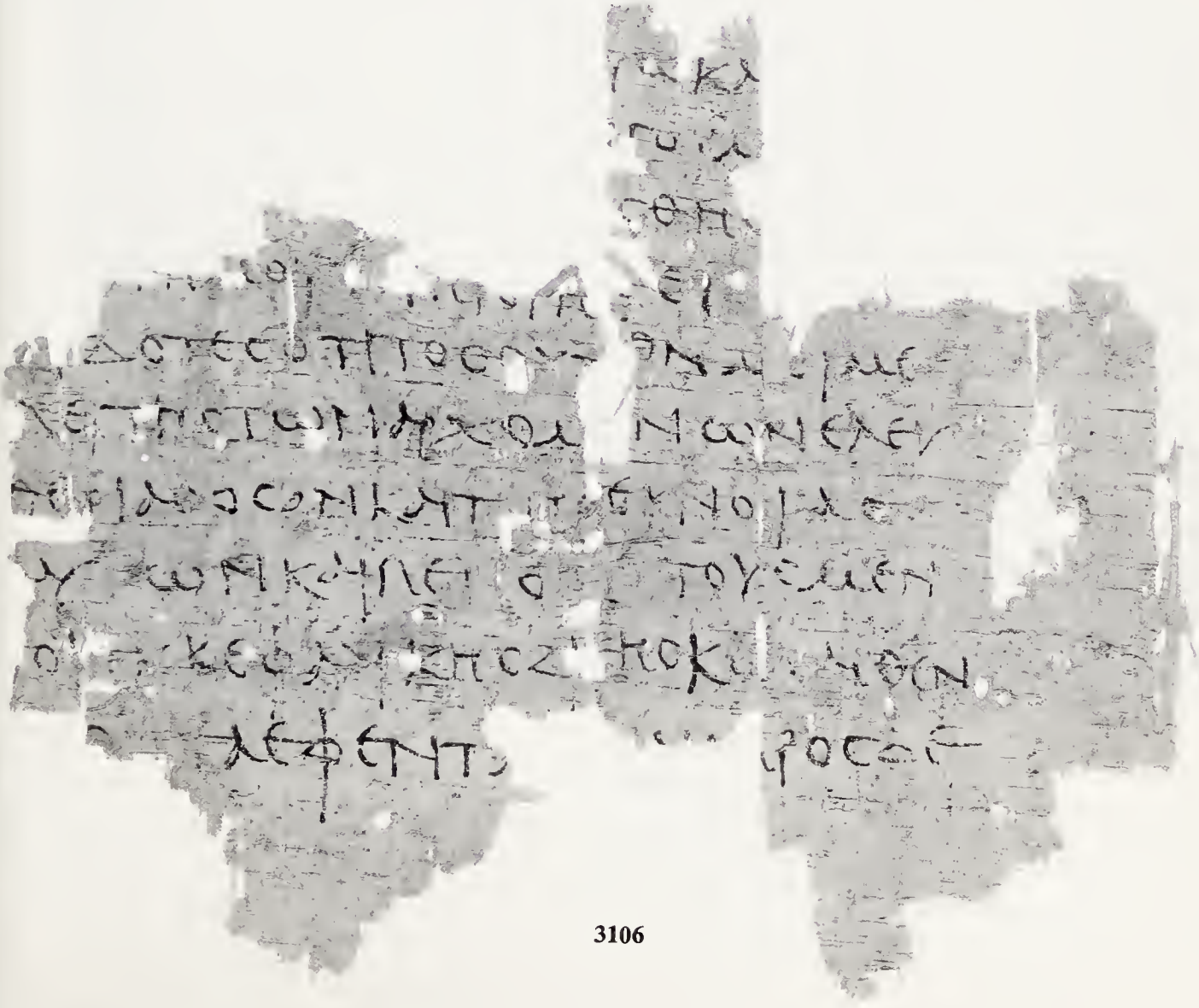

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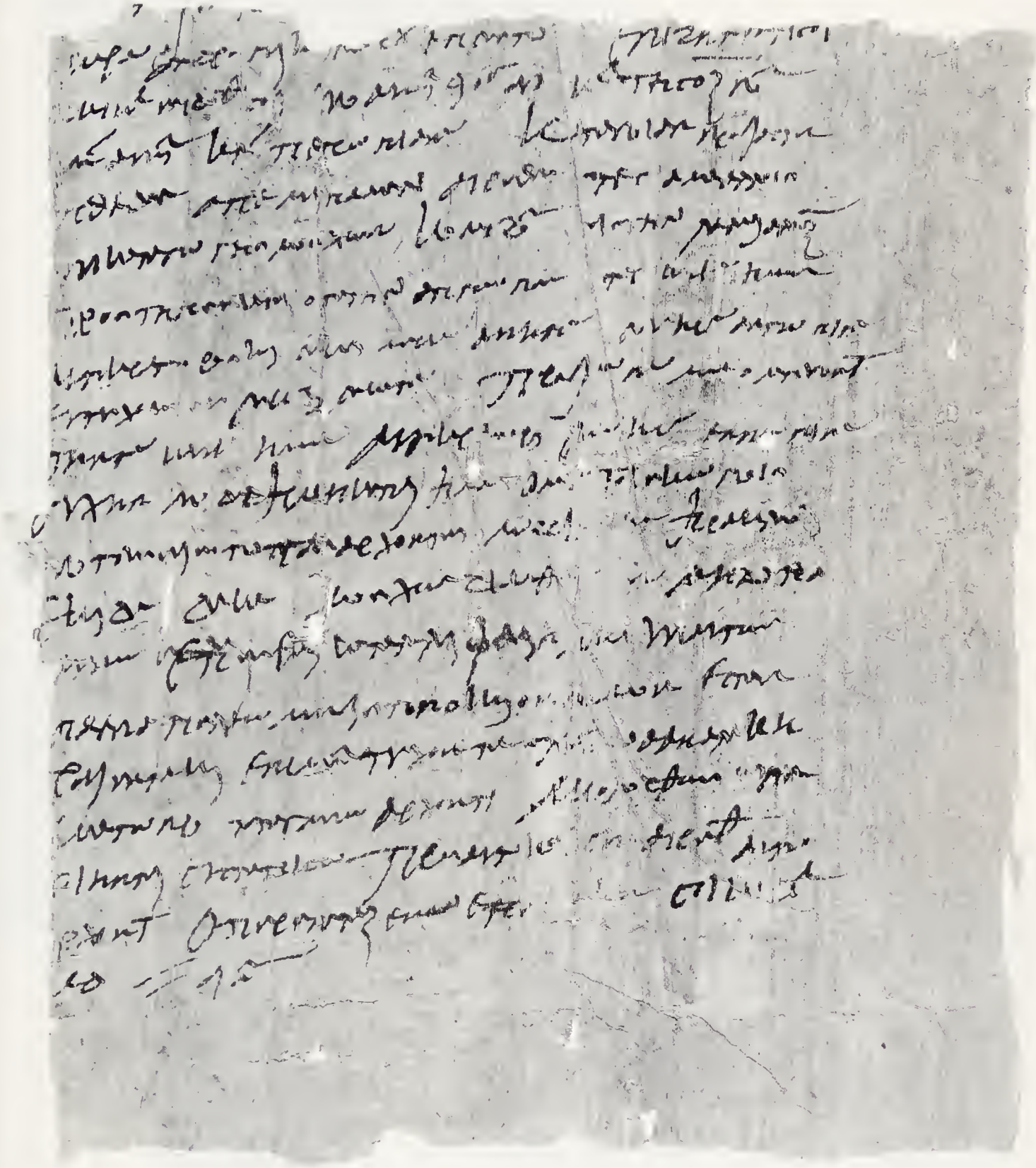

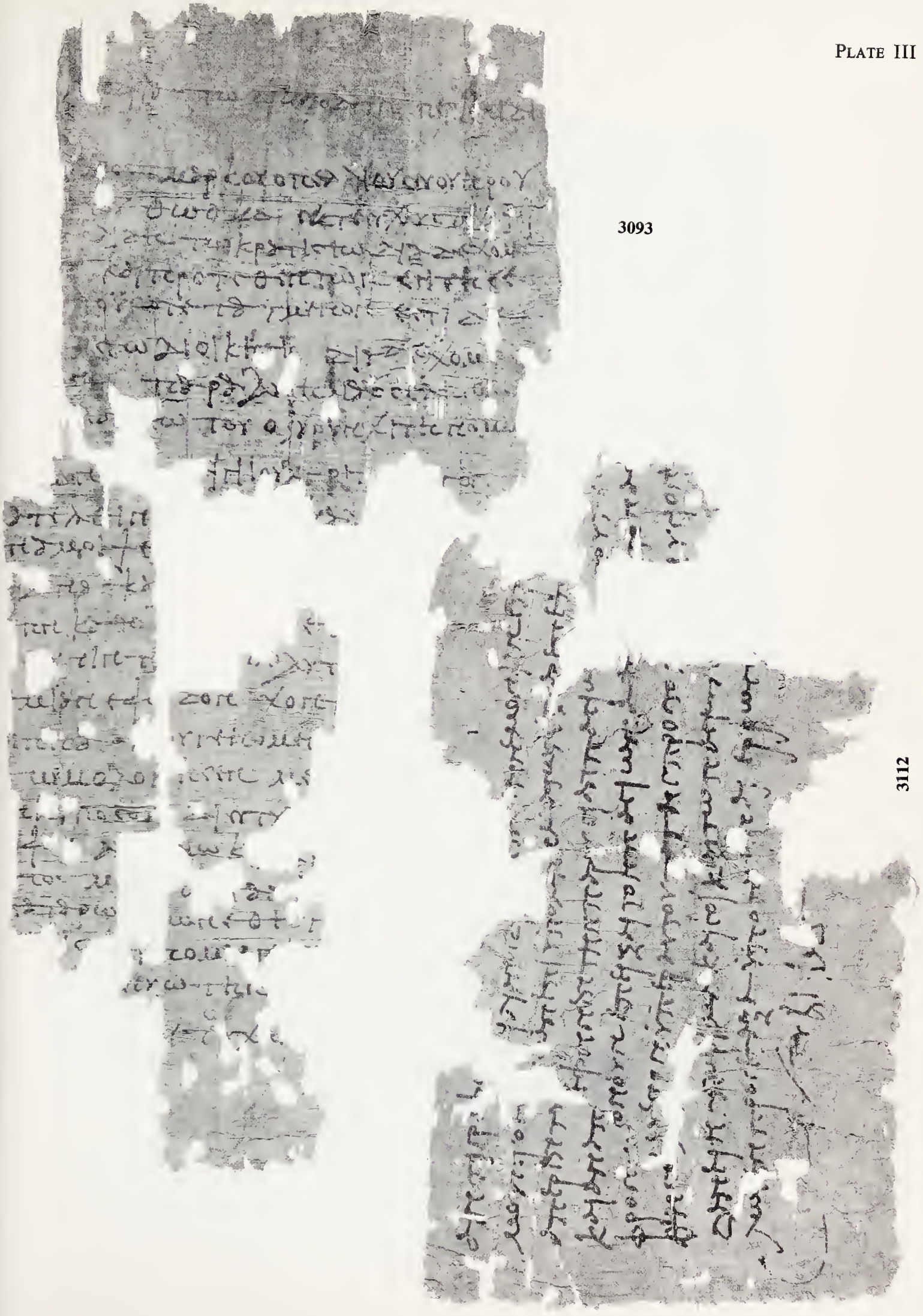

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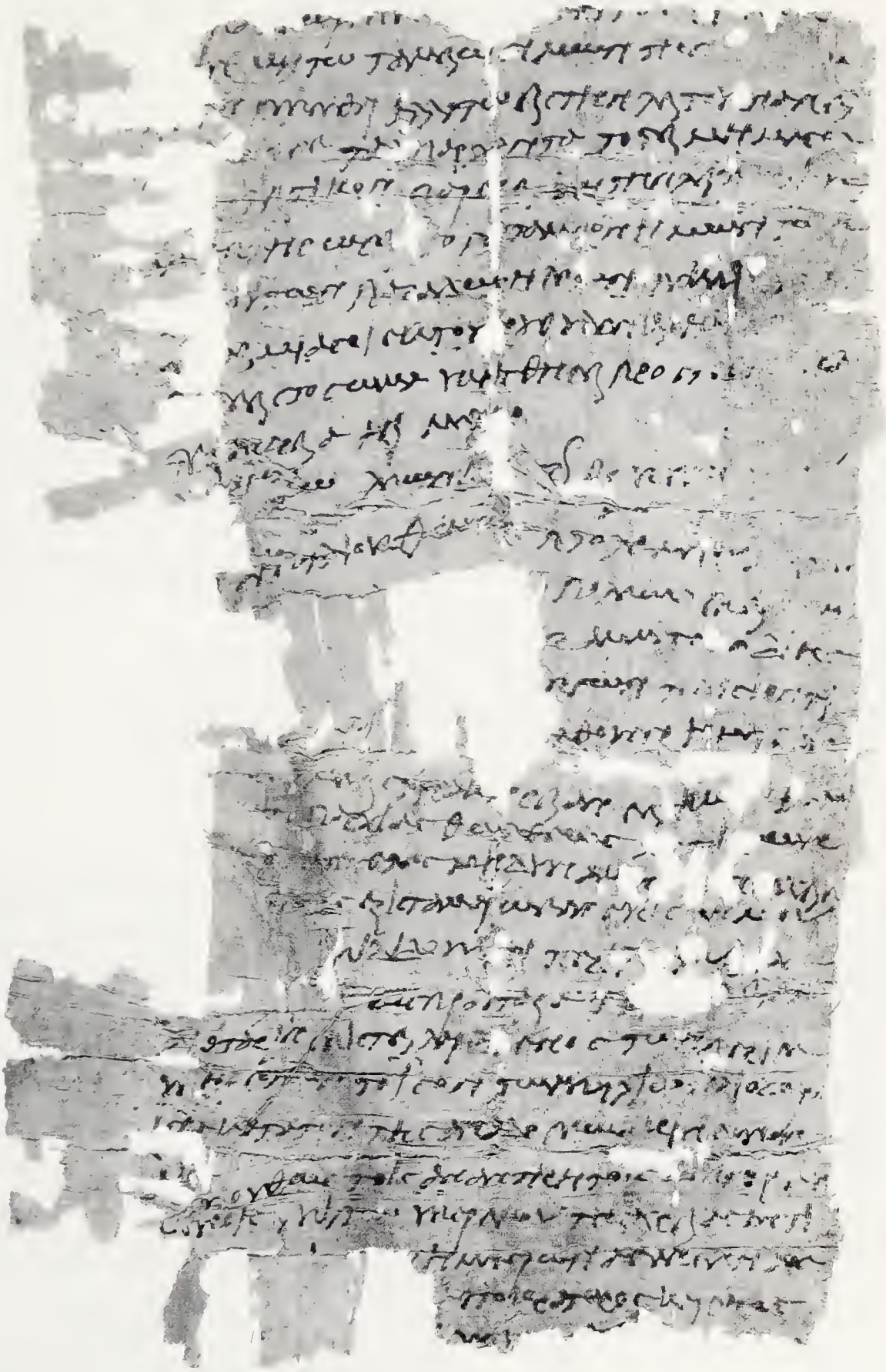

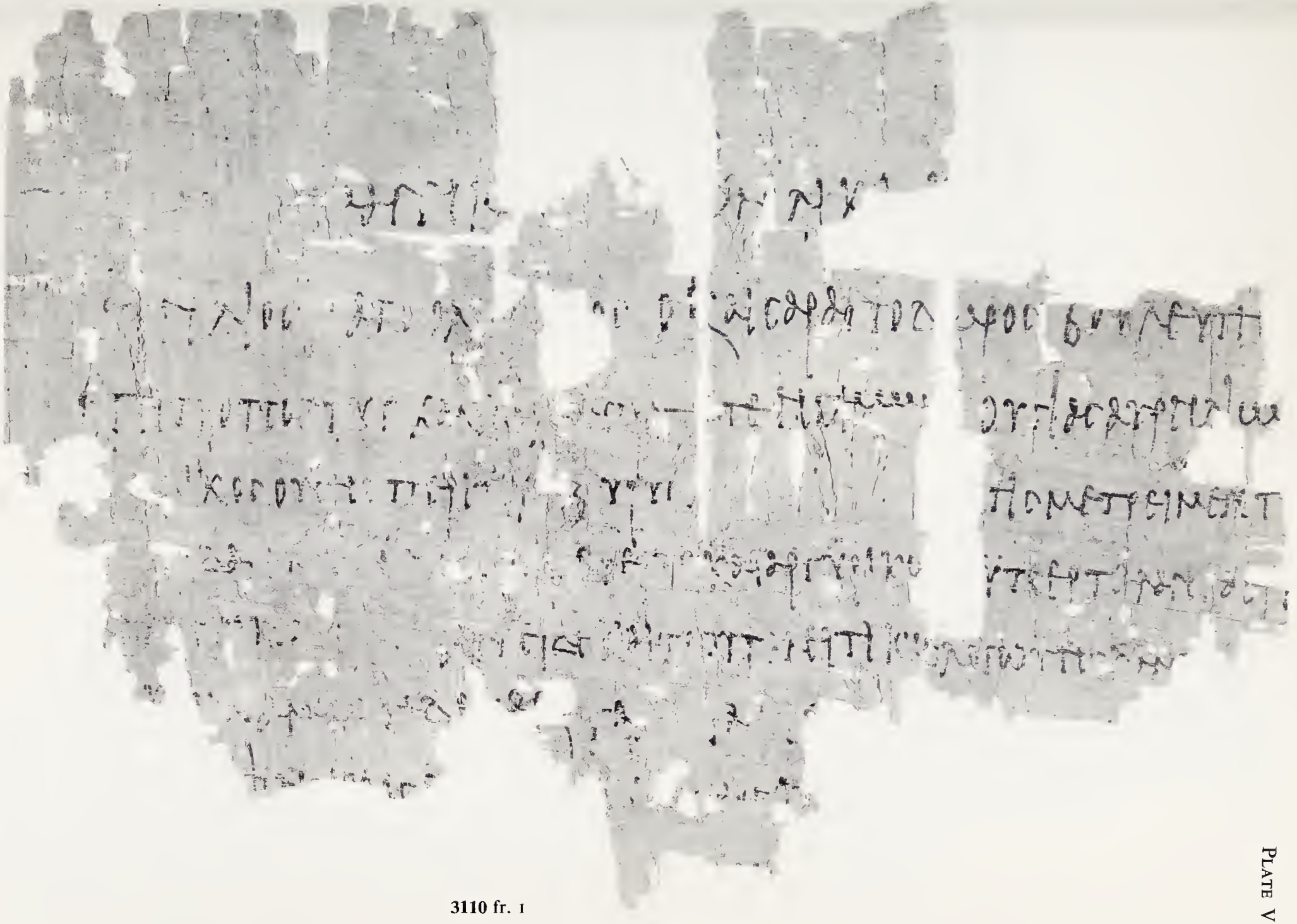

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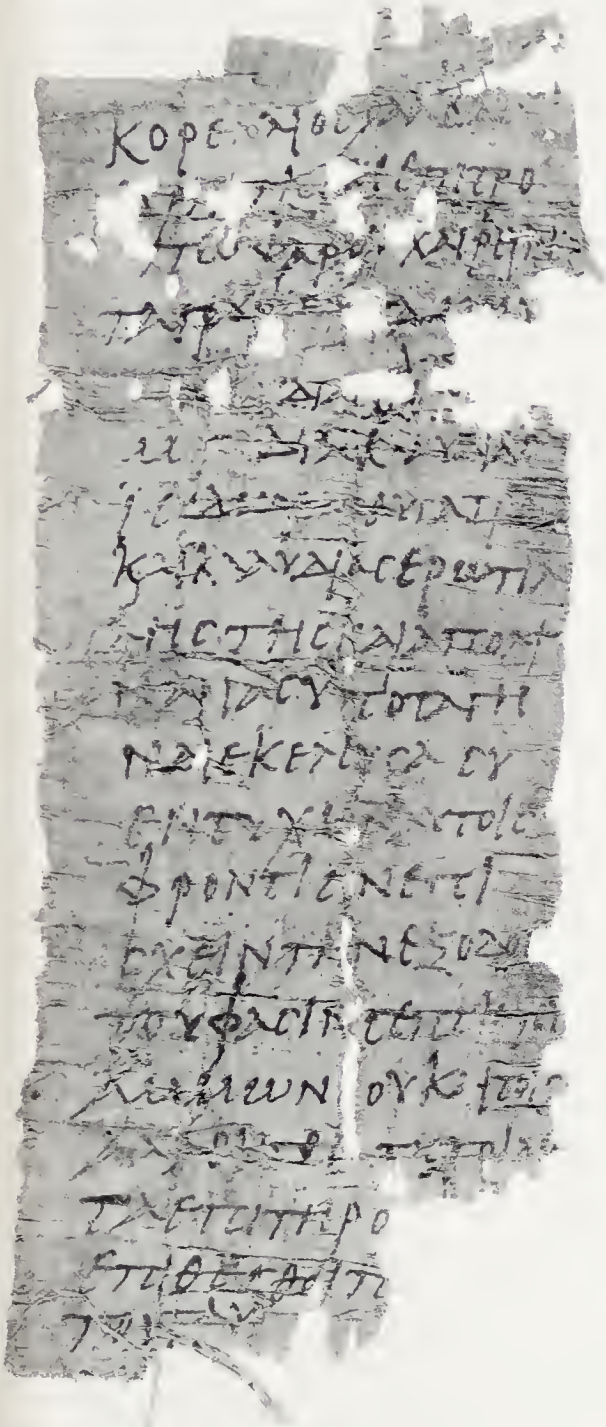

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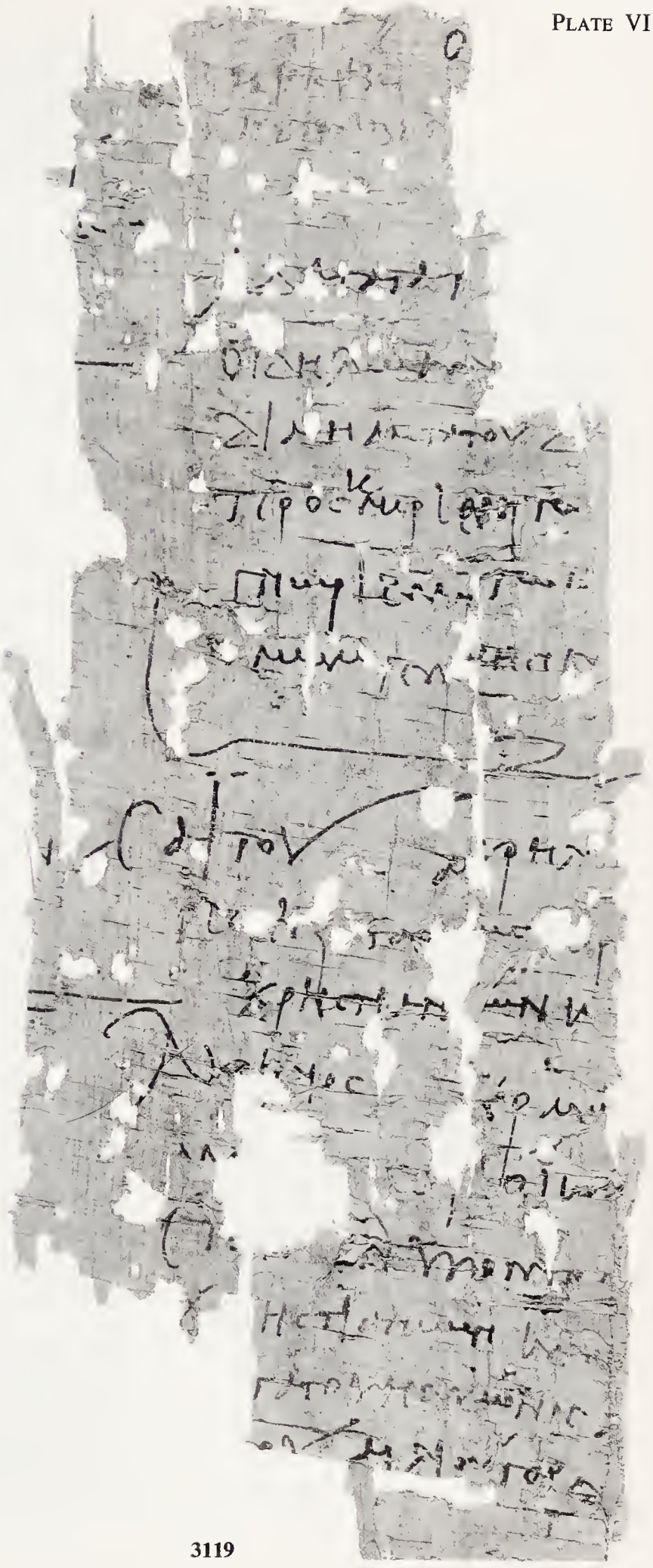

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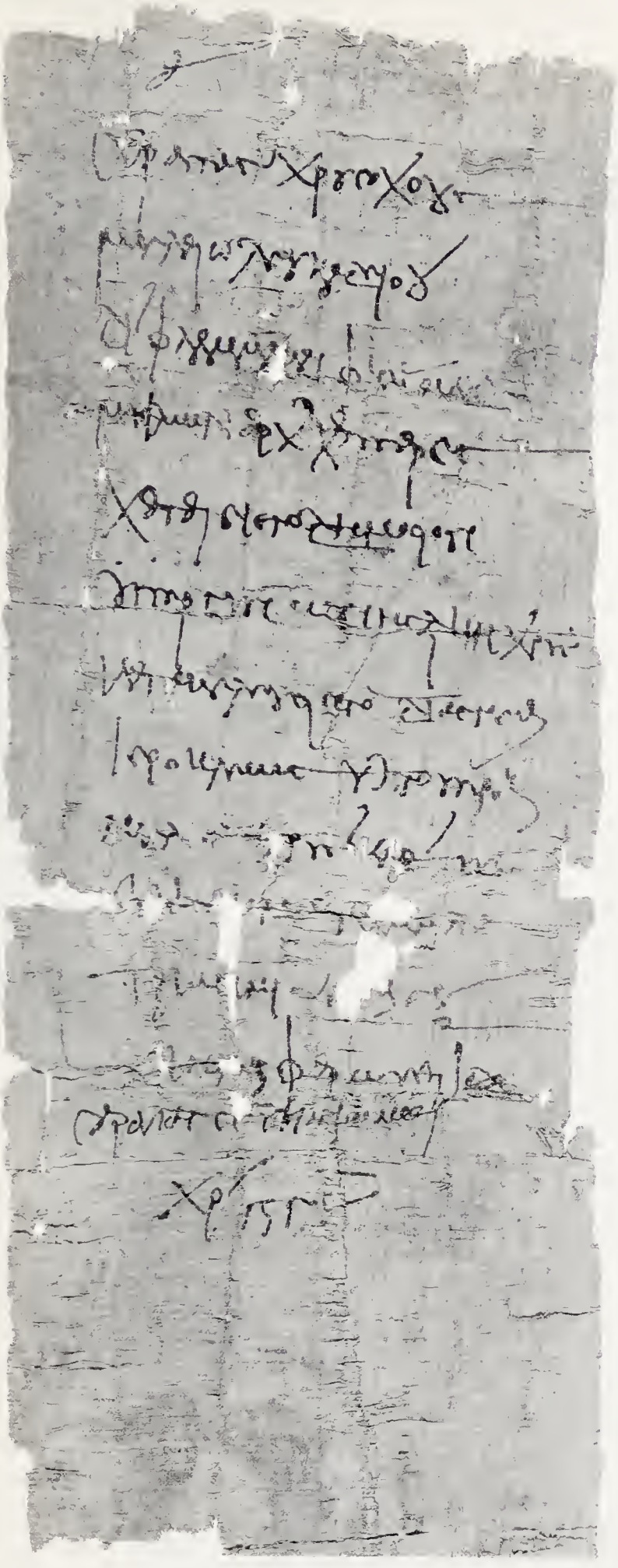

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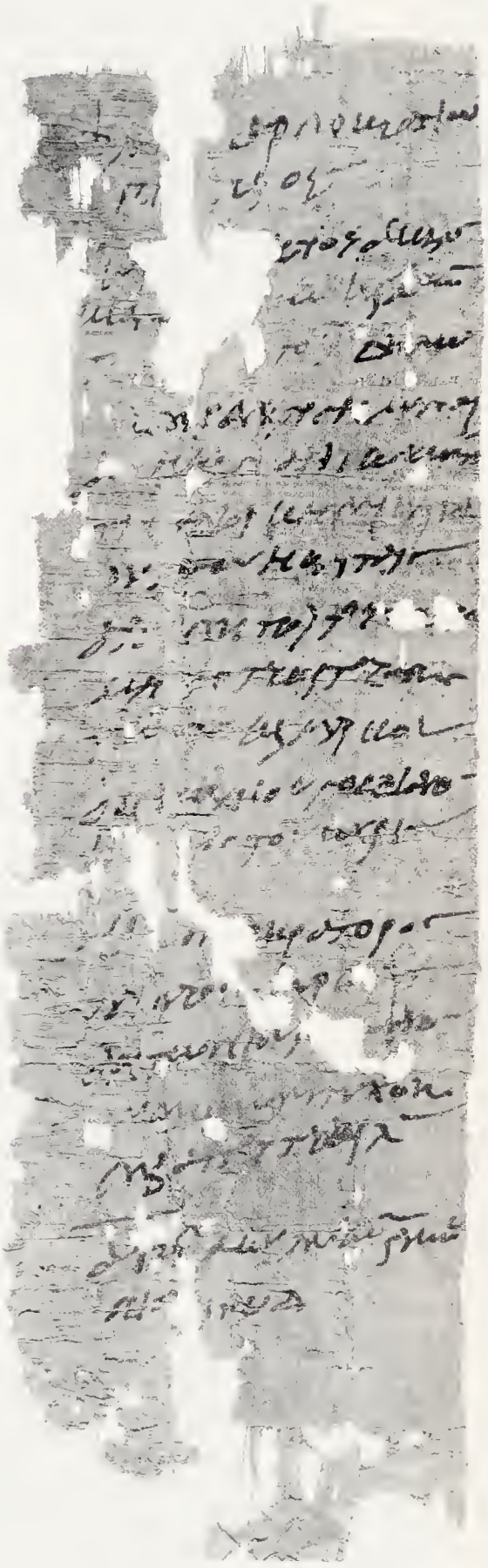

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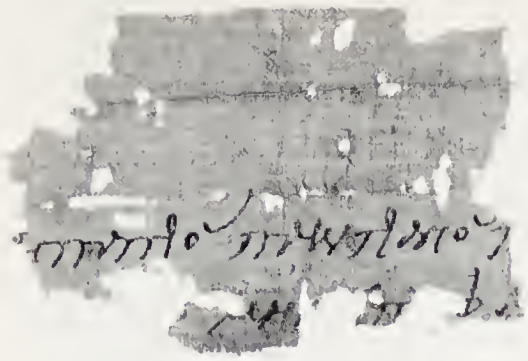

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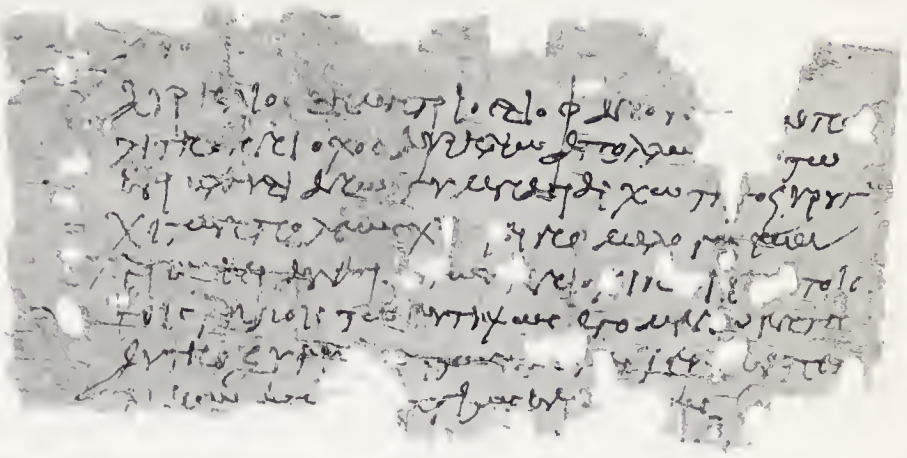

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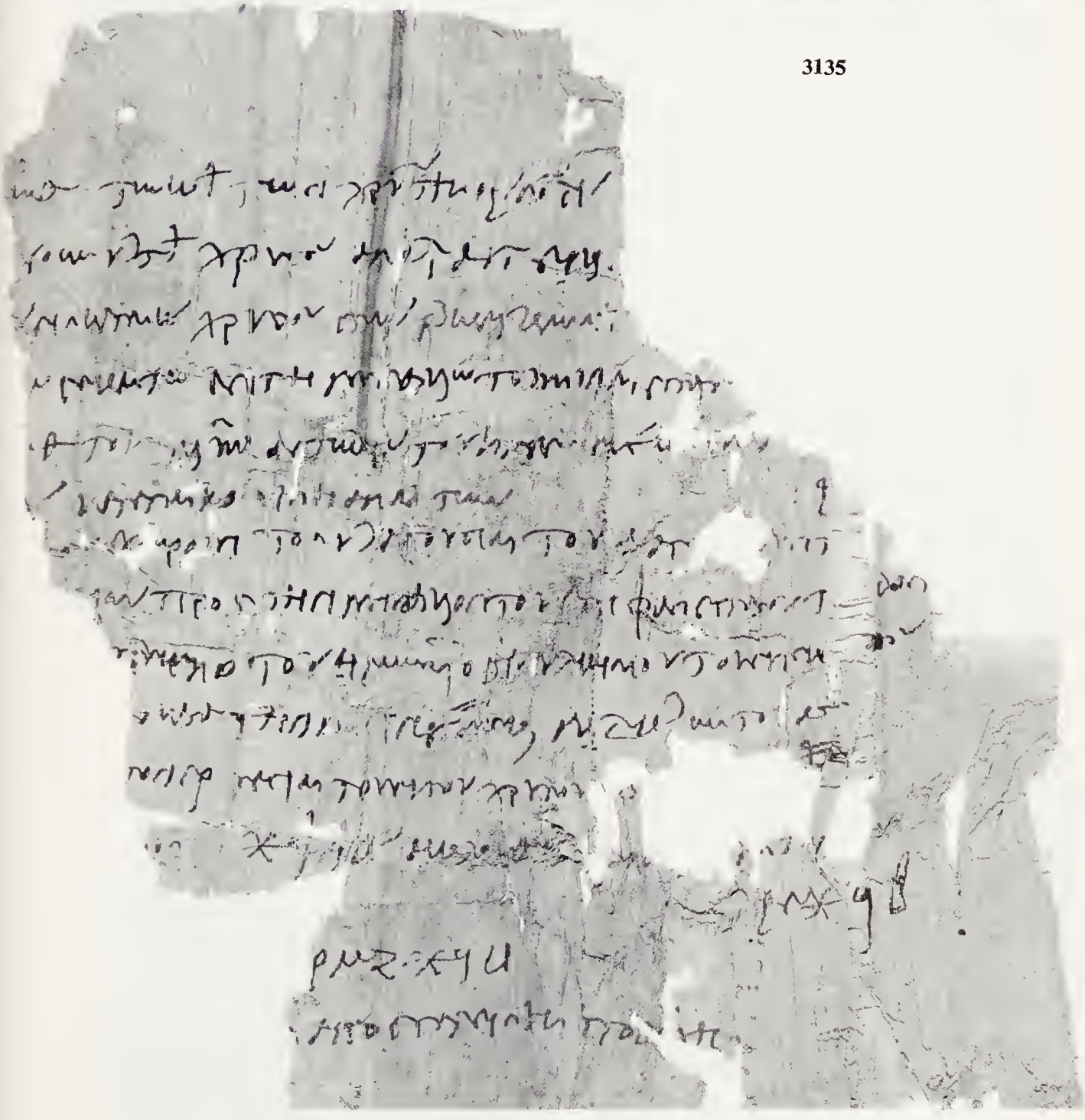

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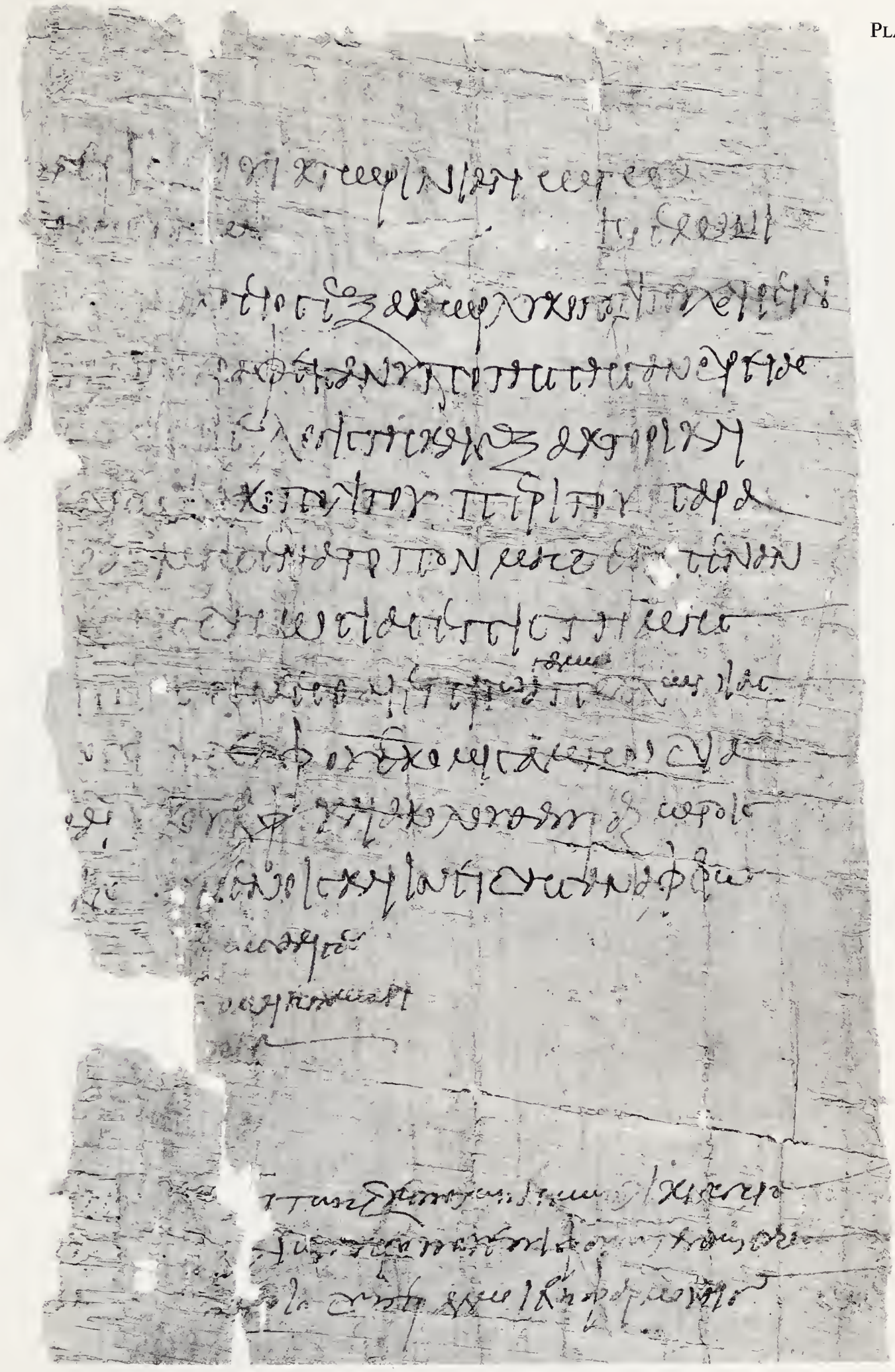

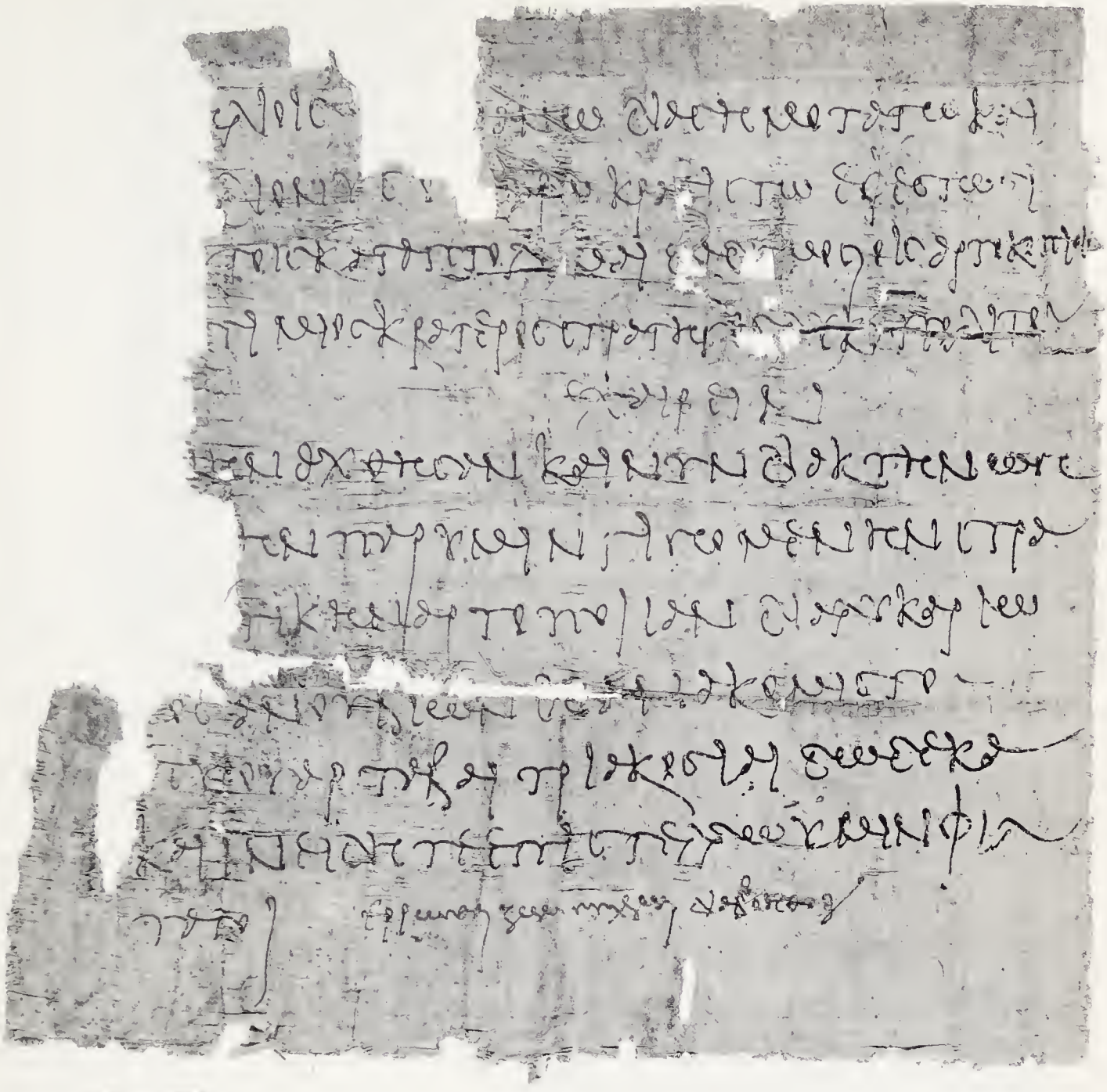

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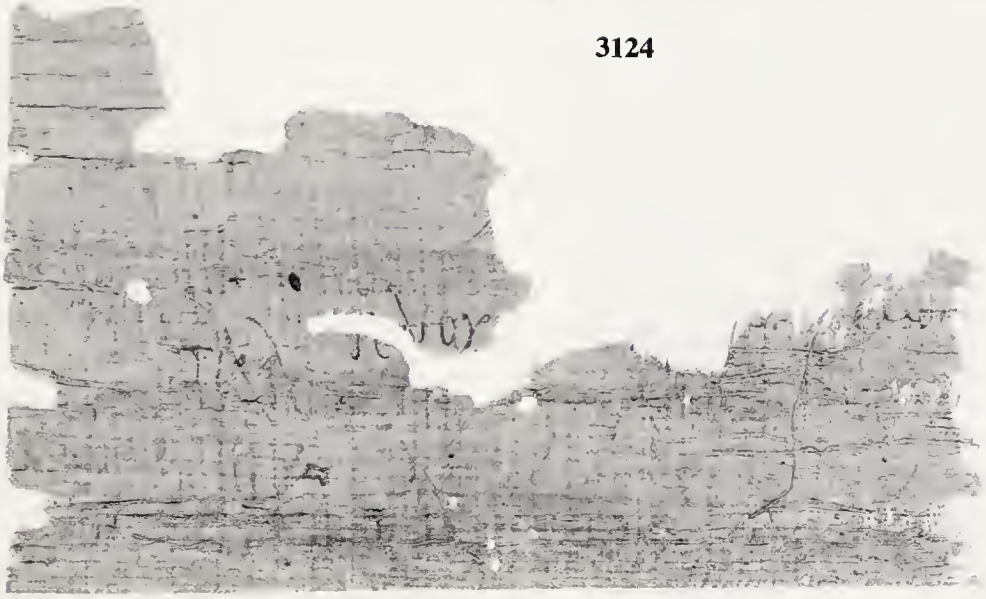

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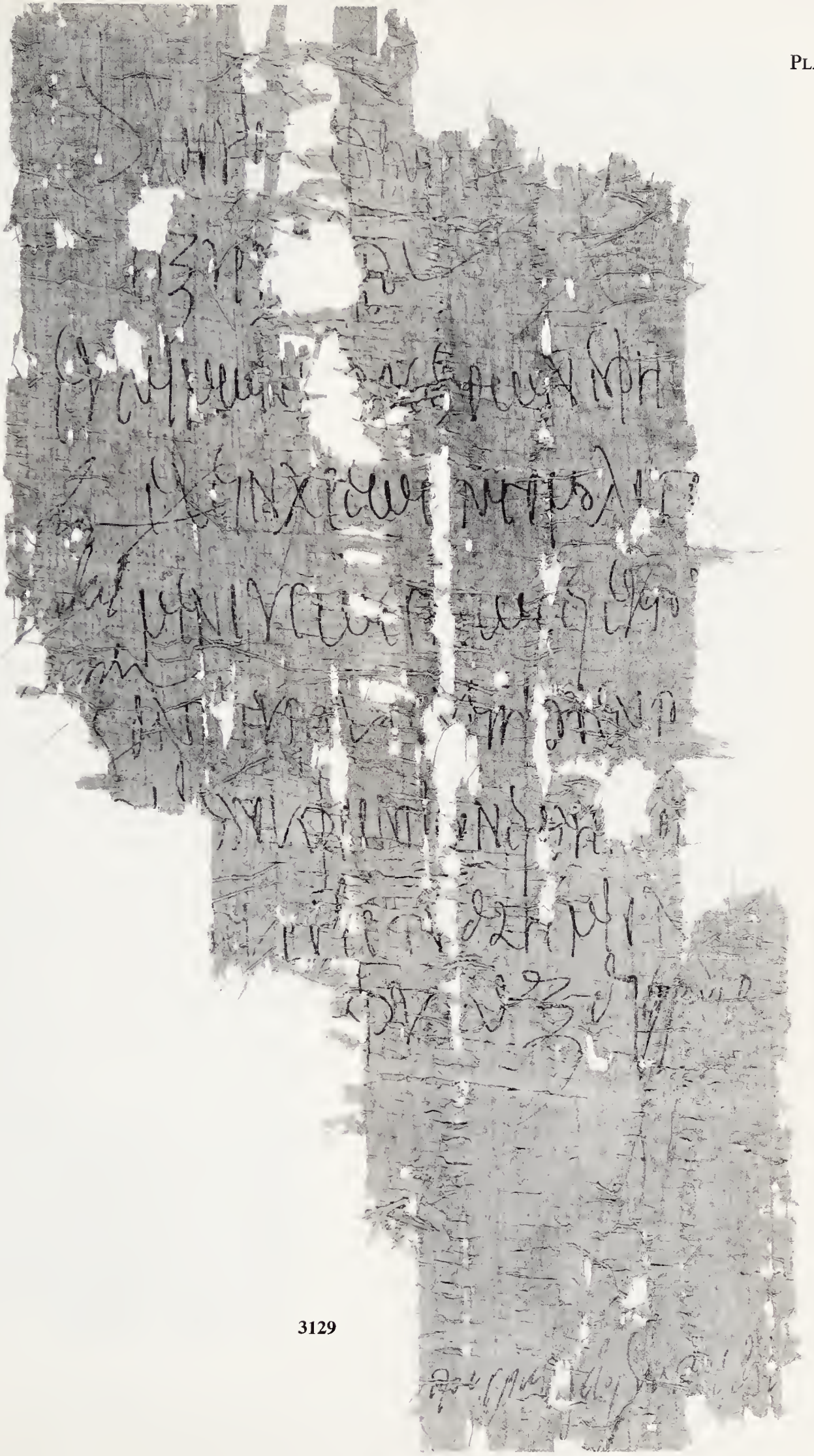

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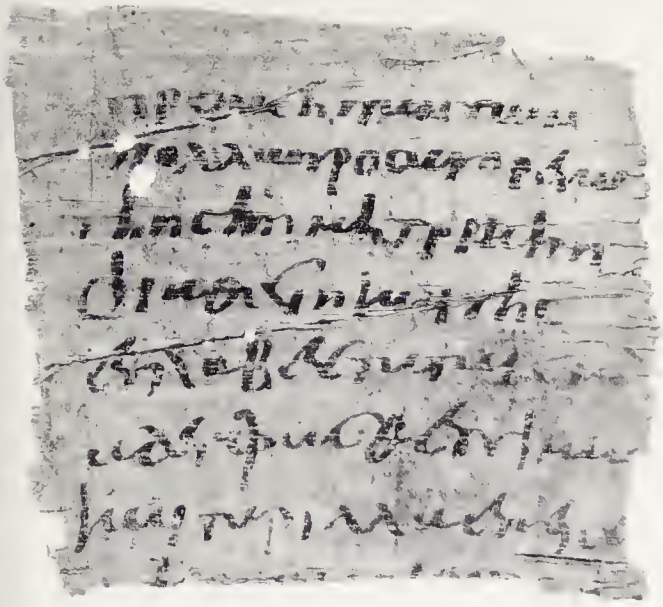

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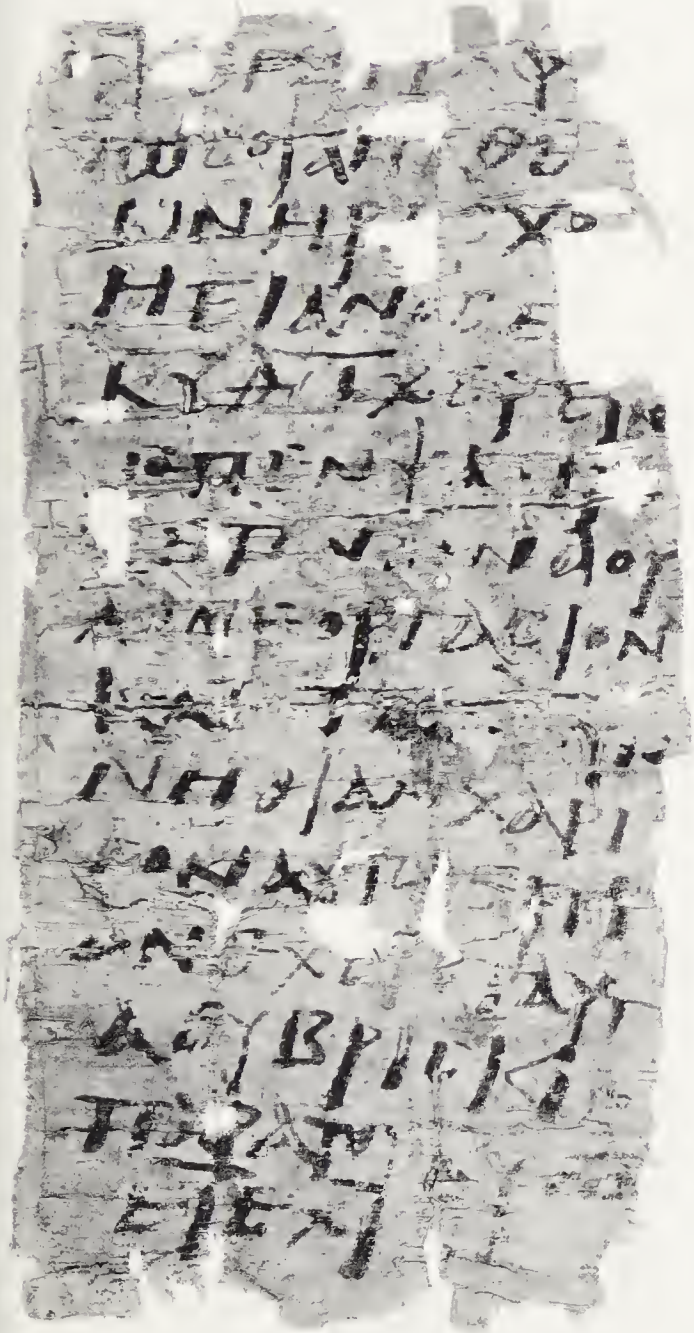

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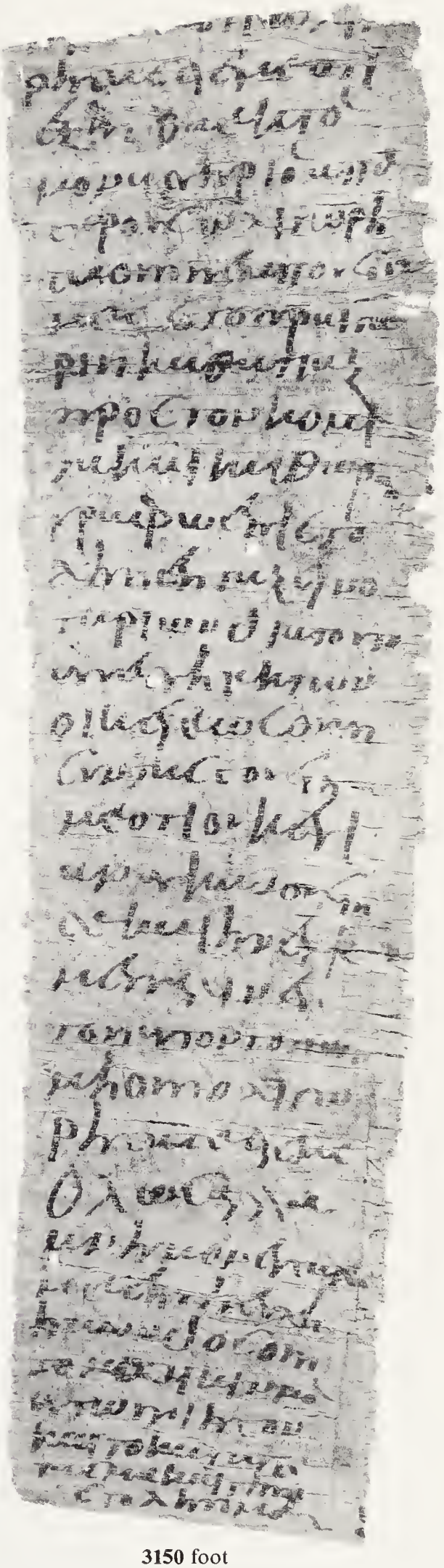

3150 foot

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